113, 101, 184, 565, 463 Tuareg MS25

[For information on the Tuareg see 1: Coon, Ml Middle East, cat. 116, pp. 204-210. ]

/149/

# Book IV

## The Tuareg of the Ahaggar

## Social Organization

## The Ahaggar Confederation

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## Chapter 1

### Social Organization

101 Here we shall speak of the Tuareg of the Ahaggar. But since all of the Tuareg form a quite homogeneous ethnic group, what we [184 177] say about their /Tuareg of the Ahaggar/ social organization will, in general, be valid for the whole, although their social organization remained more sheltered from foreign influences than that of the other groups, because of their isolation in the heart of the Sahara.

The Ihǎggaren /Ahaggaren/ may thus be considered, as a result of that isolation, the witnesses and representatives of Tuareg civilization.

● 565 Classes and castes. -- Social organization among them /the Tuareg/ shows strong analogies with our ancient feudal system. Indeed, there is a chief whose nominal authority holds sway over all the tribes, a class system (aserkam) which divides tribes into suzerains and vassals, religious elements and serfs, enfeoffed the ones to the others, and an artisan class.

564 565 Classes in so-called primitive societies are born out of private property, wealth, and the authority of the strong who become the protectors of the weak, and have had as a corollary war and slavery. The caste system, which is an accentuated form of the class system,

565 564 includes hereditary specialization, hierarchy, repulsion between the different groups, and refusal to associate with people of a different caste. These principles are partly in force among the Tuareg, whose type of social organization borrows from the two systems.

/150/ Furthermore, there are great analogies between the two systems. This sort of aristocratic organization is well suited to nomadic life, in opposition to democratic organization which is more commonly found among sedentary groups.

171 564 According to some authors, the caste system is specifically Hindu; it only existed in its pure state in India and to a lesser degree in ancient Egypt. (1) Thus we are hardly surprised to find this organization among the Tuareg who, culturally, belong to the same cycle of civilization.

182 564 The crystallization of that organization among this people, who on the whole possess quite high intellectual qualities, as well as the material crystallization, can only be explained by the isolation in which it was confined as a result of circumstances where climate has certainly played a large role.

565 The Tuareg are divided into suzerains (Imochar) of a specifically warlike nature, vassals (Imrad) most commonly shepherds, religious men (Inislimen), and serfs (Iklân). Other elements from different origins are enfeoffed to them, such as the Issekkemâren, the Iboroliten, and the Enaden.

174 182 565 The present hierarchy obviously results from a series of wars and civil conflicts. In the fight for life each person endeavored to get his share, and as always this was at the expense of the weaker. Tribes achieved a predominance which they were not always able

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1. Deniker, *Les races et les peuples de la terre* /The Races and Peoples of the World/, p. 489.

174
182 to maintain, which others seized from them, and suzerains became
● 565 vassals. But in spite of these contingencies of war, the Tuareg
[554 attach great importance to blood origins and always respect high-
727] born people, even though they may be their vanquished /adversaries/.

Thus, at the present time, the nobles of the Ahaggar and the
554 Xjjer may be seen to seek alliances with women of the fallen fraction
565 of the Imenan Sultans. This adds to the luster of their high origin
581 a certain character of religious nobility, which is much appreciated
among Moslems.

000 Monogamy and matriarchy. -- To understand Tuareg society, one must remember two important facts, facts which are, moreover, not completely independent of each other, monogamy and matriarchy.

/151/ While the Tuareg are Moslems and have polygamous
174 peoples as neighbors, it is astonishing to note that they practice
562 monogamy. This is an evident indication that women occupy an
[595] important place in their society, in no way comparable to what they
occupy among the Arabs. This was very striking to the first travelers who thought they saw traces of an ancient Christianity in the persistence of monogamy. This argument might be held if we did not know, on the other hand, that the social organization of the Tuareg rests on matriarchy, an ancient custom much earlier than the Christian era, which explains monogamy and the particularly high position of women.

Gautier writes on this subject: "It may be said that the Tuareg practice chivalrous gallantry; the expression is inadequate only because of the association it evokes. Our chivalry has a Christian origin; the respect of the Tuareg for women has much deeper and more remote reasons. It goes back to matriarchy, which is earlier than the notion of the state and even that of the family. It is a living witness of completely primordial humanity, a sentiment, if I may say so, of the quaternary age." (1)

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1. La conquête du Sahara /The Conquest of the Sahara/, p. 33.

643 644 The aménokal generally has one or two caliphs charged with taking his place or representing him with the fractions.

631 The amrar. -- Each tribe, called taousit, has its amrar, who, like the aménokal, is chosen according to matriarchal rules.

[192] Amrar, in Tamashek, means "the old," "the respectable," "the ancient," /158/ and by extension, [643 534] "possessor of wisdom." It is the equivalent of the Arab word "sheik."

The amrar is the intermediary between the people of his tribe and the aménokal. He transmits orders from the latter and sees that they are carried out. He collects the tioussé intended for the aménokal from the Imrad and sets the share that each is to pay. He settles minor disputes between the people of his tribe and fixes the pasturing zone to be used by each camp.

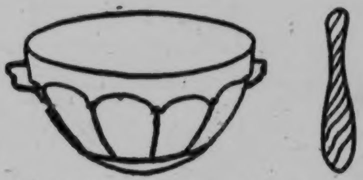

Fig. 16. The tobol, symbol of the aménokal's command, with its "imîtkar."

He takes part in the vote which sanctions the election of the aménokal and at the arollan, which discusses major decisions concerning the life of the confederation.

In a confederation subject to an aménokal, a grouping which the Ahaggar Tuareg also call tégéhé, there may be several tobol, that is, several suzerain tribes, each with its vassals. The name taousit, making double use of the word for tribe, is sometimes used to designate the whole whose chief also bears the name of amrar among the Ihăggaren and agoalla among the Kel Aïr /Asben/.

[171] The amrar has no characteristic symbol of command, at least among the Ihăggaren. In certain Sudanese tribes, many formerly had a drum analogous to that of the aménokal.

565 192 The Imochar. -- The Imochar (singular, Amacher) form the aristocratic class. This word means "man of dominant stock

565 /Fr. race/, " "aristocrat, " and not "noble" as some have written.
[192] This would be said elli (plural, illellan) in Tamashek. (1)

1. Cf. Nicolas, "Notes sur la société et l'État des Touaregs du Dinnik, " Bulletin de l'Institut Français, Afrique Noire, vol. I, nos. 2-3, 1939, pp. 579-586.

192 197 In Sudanese dialects, amacher, by transposition into local phonetics, becomes amajer (plural, imajeuren). As we have already said, it is easy to find in these names the old Berber root amazir, which formerly referred to certain Libyan peoples and which still exists in the name of a considerable Berber fraction in Morocco.

565 [173] The Imochar, who hold the political rights, are the real masters of the country. All of them claim to be of sherif origin, more or less descendants of the Prophet; however, this claim has no solid foundation, except the desire to assume a high birth affiliating them to Islamism and its founder a long time back, but this is not true.

/159/ Among themselves, the Tuareg refer to men of old nobility and old stock /Fr. race/ as loumet.

565 701 631 All the Imochar are essentially warriors. They owe their high social position to the saber, and they know no other occupation than war and raiding. Their role as suzerain makes them parasites of the vassal classes, and they used to constitute a scourge to caravans crossing their country. Their way of life has always been pillage, [181 461] and in their eyes manual labor is a disgrace which only slaves can accept.

181 565 Covering the desert on their camels, fighting, risking death in faraway escapades -- that is what the life of a man of noble blood, who intends to remain one, must be. They take their vassals on their escapades and save part of the booty for them, by right of participation. Scorn for manual labor is a class prejudice with them

181 and not caused by a state of laziness, for although they would not
565 consider working the land at any price, they would not mind traveling
thousands of kilometers under often difficult and quite dangerous
conditions to go pillage opposing tribes. Once back in camp, they
intend to lead a life free from any material cares, shifting the burden
to their vassals.

422 They entrust the keeping of the captured herds to the Imrad,
565 reclaiming the beasts from them when they need them and the
necessary usufruct for their food. For themselves, they keep only
[231 mounts for war and for transporting household objects and are content
234] with small herds of goats with only the number of head strictly
necessary to assure their daily milk needs. In the same way, they
[567] do not own many slaves of their own, for the latter would make so
many months to feed, which they are wary of.

565 Although they rely on their Imrad for everything, they do not
abuse them, for, as a Tuareg proverb says, "we must not kill the
camel which feeds us," and their demands always take into account
the wealth and the possibilities of the moment.

565 Every year the Imochar levy a vassalage tax called a tioussé
631 on the Imrad. This tax, fixed for each tribe, includes an annual
651 contribution of a certain number of head of livestock, loads of
grain, miscellaneous items /160/ waterskins, tent stakes, etc.),
[643] tanned hides, butter, etc. In principal it is invariable and paid to
the aménokal who disposes of it as he wishes, making allowances
for the needs of the Imochar.

643 The aménokal leaves the animals which he levies under the
651 management of the Imrad, who furnish him the usufruct from them.

Individual rights of Imochar over Imrad do not exist in principal.
565 Actually they do exist when a man is the last representative of a
631 tribe and levies for himself the rights falling to his tribe.
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On the other hand, some undertake to make small levies on the
Imrad; the latter never refuse. And we must say in defense of the
nobles that they treat their Imrad quite generously when a fortunate
raid makes them temporarily well off.

565 631 In exchange for the rights of suzerainty which the Imochar exercise over the Imrad, they owe the latter absolute protection, defend their interests each time that they are threatened, and endeavor to obtain reparation if they are pillaged by an opposing tribe.

177 631 565 571 The Imochar spend lavishly as great lords and have kept this mania in spite of the change in regime brought by the French peace. Their way of living like parasites has taken away any idea of foresight, and because of this they are more often in want than well off. In fact, the first consequence of the French occupation was to stop the state of war and the pillaging, which deprived the Imochar of their principal resources. They became poor people, while the Imrad, as herd owners, saw their wealth increase and become stabilized. This social disturbance could have had serious consequences, but the Imrad did not totally abandon the Imochar, despite the opportunity which was offered them to emancipate themselves from their ancestral guardianship. Perhaps we can be glad of this, for one might wonder what the material situation of the Imochar would have been and, consequently, their state of mind with regard to us.

291 565 178 The terms "black Tuareg" and "white Tuareg" have often been used to designate the Imochar and the Imrad. "In the north," Seligman says, "the nobles have black veils and the subjects white ones." (1) This distinction in dress does not exist today, when the Tuareg indiscriminately wear black or white veils according to their taste and wealth. /161/ It is possible that the Imrad formerly could not obtain indigo veils, always considered a luxury item, and had to be content with ordinary cotton veils; that would explain the division into black and white Tuareg.

According to Duveyrier, the white Tuareg, "Touareg-el-biodh," were probably the Oulad Ba Hamou, Arabs of the region of In-Salah. They took from the Tuareg the habit of wearing veils, but in white instead of dark indigo.

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1. _Les races de l' Afrique_, p. 129.

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554 The Imochar, on the other hand, are much more distinguished
[302] than the Imrad; their toilette is more elaborate and their bearing
[516] nobler, so that it is often easy to distinguish them from the Imrad
by their more majestic carriage. They also assume a more elegant
[195] language, from which are banished vulgar expressions and words
foreign to their language, brought in by slaves. This difference of
appearance and language is even more perceptible among the
554 women; they are sometimes astonishing by their grace and their
562 refined manners. They are real great ladies, who receive in their
574 leather tents with as much dignity as European women of good society.
Moreover, they make a certain show of receiving their guests well
[533] and charm them with the melodious sounds of their violins. The
qualities esteemed in a wellborn young Tuareg girl consist in knowing
[516] how to keep her tent, making a few beautiful embroidered leather
articles to give to friends or to a knight waiting upon her, and knowing
565 how to play the violin.

[831 Outside of their trips in the desert, the Imochar spend one part
513] of their life courting women and the other sleeping.

The mores are much looser for the Imochar than for the
[842 Imrad, bringing about late marriages and consequently unions which
582] are most often rather unprolific. The French occupation, on the
[648] other hand, has taken away their real raison d'être as they see it,
and a certain neurasthenia seems to have taken hold of them in the
last few years. It would be quite regrettable to see such an original
stock /Fr. race/ disappear, but faced with its inertia in adapting itself
to new conditions, we cannot quite see what palliative we could
bring it.

565 The Inislimen. -- The Inislimen make up the religious class
[793 among the Tuareg, playing the role of chaplains and marabouts /162/
871] and entrusted with the formation and religious education of the
children.

Therefore, they occupy an important social position, quite
[651] superior to that of the Imrad. In some confederations they are exempt

565 from all vassalage taxes and are often the object of much respect
[651] and consideration wherever they go. Thus, in the Ahaggar, they
are treated on an equal footing with the Imochar, and the latter
[582] sometimes accept marriages with them, while at the same time re-
[641] fusing to grant political rights to the children born of these unions.
On the other hand, among the Ioullimmiden, the Imochar reject
[184] any alliance with them and make them pay a vassalage due. These
/Inislimen/ of the Damergou, contrary to the rule, are considered
[582] nobles; they own Imrad and may wage war. Furthermore, they
have made themselves noticed as the most bellicose among the Aïr
tribes. Finally, those of the Adrar succeeded in forming a confederation after the Ioullimmiden abandoned the country; they have Imrad, but the Imochar from the other confederations do not want to regard them as their equals.

They are often referred to under the name of Ichériffen, or
[192] Chériffen, which comes from the Arab word sherif, meaning "noble," or, by extension, "descendant of the Prophet." But among the Tuareg, Ichériffen has a more specialized meaning and designates persons of a religious nature, without their necessarily being descendants of Mahomet.

The marabout tribes include the Ichériffen properly so called and the Ifôra.

This religious nature has various origins and qualities.

Some elements really number sherifs among their ancestors; such is the case of the Ifôra from the Adrar and certain Kel Es-Souq fractions. But opposed to them are others who have only an accidental religious character.

174 Concerning this, Commander Cauvet says that these marabout
565 tribes often appear to be noble collectivities, who were formerly
793 strong and became too weak to continue enjoying the rights and
prestige of the strong. They declared themselves withdrawn from the business of arms and devoted to pious practices for love of God and Islam. "A tribe threatened with losing its preponderance,

174 its rank, or even its class as a result of events of war or of too fre-
● 565 quent or too strong splits, sometimes decides to declare itself /163/
793 marabout. Piety is not indispensable for this; the tribe need only stop pillaging its neighbors and bearing arms. If some of them display the appearances of pious Moslems, learn a bit of the Koran, and wear beads, particularly if they can refer to some Arab ancestor, who formerly took refuge in the tribe, they succeed in being classed as marabouts after a certain time." (1)

1. Commander Cauvet,
Les noms des tribus Touaregs
/Names of Tuareg Tribes/,
p. 10.

565 In tribes which really practice their religion in a more serious
793 way than most of the Tuareg, he continues, there is surely an
instillation of foreign blood, sometimes Semitic and often earlier
[144] than the Arab invasion. Without discussing here the reasons on
which Commander Cauvet stands in speaking of the infusion of
[142] Semitic blood into the Ichériffen, we shall recall what we have already said, that we were strongly struck to find persons of a Semitic appearance, particularly marked in the old man, among the Ichériffen from the region of Gao and the Kel Es-Souq of Mohamed Ouguinat.

565 The explorer Duveyrier, who lived for a long time among the
631 northern Ifôra, considered them former nobles "who had abdicated
any political role in the administration of the confederation in
793 order to conquer a greater religious authority, necessary in a society where justice is represented by no power." (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 132.

He attributed to them a great moral and religious activity. It is true that certain Ifôra chiefs, like Sheik Othman who was one of

565 Duveyrier's protectors during his stay in the Tassili, acquire a real
631 authority over the Ihǎggaren and the Kel Ǎjjer, surely serving the
793 causes of peace. Their general action is much less significant than
he says, and we may cite as proof that the same Ifôra were pillaged
themselves upon several occasions by the Ihǎggaren and forced to
seek shelter in our South Algerian posts.

The influence of the Inislimen on the Ihǎggaren and the Kel
[797] Ǎjjer is not very considerable, for their religious proselytism is hardly active, and they are more diligent at making their herds prosper
than they are at spreading the law of the Prophet, of whom, in fact,
they are generally quite ignorant.

[554] /164/ They are very well thought of in spite of this, and their
chief is surrounded by a very great respect. Very peace loving,
they established trusting relations with us a long time ago and
disapproved of the belligerent action of the Ihǎggaren against us,
in particular at the time of the massacre of the Flatters mission.

184 The Inislimen play a very important role among the Tǎdemaket
565 and the Ioullimmiden, actively spreading Islamism. Some are
793 accomplished men of letters and teach the Koran in the camps.

797 While the marabout elements in the north were the first to
become reconciled with us, we have had the most indomitable
[648] enemies in their brothers from the south. They were at the base
of all the agitations and revolts with their preachings, and they
preached resistance to the French occupation with the greatest ardor.

174 The cradle of the Ifôra was probably the ancient Berber capital,
565 Tǎdemeka, whose present Arabic name is Es-Souq, which was
793 given to the principal tribe. They swarmed hither and yon from
the Niger loop, by whole tribes or by small groups of a few tents.
They are found all over Tuareg country.

[721 Many of them, using their religious character as a pretext,
refuse to take part in wars. But beside these pacifist groups are
181 other clearly warlike ones; among the Ioullimmiden, the Chériffen
701] are divided into ordinary Chériffen and warrior Chériffen.

184 565 793 [631] [595] The Inislimen way of life is the same as that of the Tuareg. They speak the same language and administer themselves with no intervention from the Imochar. A few cases of polygamy have been observed among them. This is the result of their gradual Islamization, which favors the custom, and of patriarchy which was already in practice in some Sudanese tribes.

565 [192] [422] The Imrad. -- Imrad probably comes from the Tamashek root égeid, égeit, which means "kid," "little goat," and from the prefix am indicating possession. In short, this means "possessors of goats." In fact, the Imrad formerly could own only goats, for the Imochar reserved the possession of camels for themselves.

Their nickname is Kel Oulli, which also means "goat people," a name which they prefer to Imrad, which is probably a bit degrading for them.

[631] /165/ They make up tribes enfeoffed to the Imochar and are their vassals.

The Imochar have a certain scorn for them and consider them people of low birth, not of the pure Tuareg race; the name Taouia Settefet, meaning "of black descent," is often applied to them. (1)

1. Among the Ioullimmiden they are referred to as Idinet.

173 565 144 Nothing indicates a racial inferiority of the Imrad to the Imochar, however. If we want to interpret the old legends of the Ahaggar, everything leads us to believe that the Imrad were in most instances the first occupants of the country, and the Imochar, who were the invaders, were conquerers who made themselves masters of the country by force. The crossbreeding with the blacks cannot be a decisive criterion, for many Imrad tribes are not physically more "Negroid" than the Imochar. [186] [184] It is also true that the Imrad are less rigorous than the Imochar in maintaining the integrity of old Tuareg customs. They have less greatness of soul and sentiment, as well as less ethnic pride.

565 [511] [177] Although their present situation is more prosperous than that of the Imochar, as we have said, they do not stop at considerations of prestige of the latter. Since the occupation, they have been able to raise an appreciable income through animal husbandry and caravans.

565 631 [642] The Imrad are organized by tribes, electing a chief and respecting matriarchal rules like the Imochar. They administer their affairs internally as they see fit, without intervention of the amenokal or the Imochar in their affairs.

162 In all of the confederations, the Imrad are more numerous than the Imochar, in a ratio of one to five (northern Tuareg) and one to eight (Ioullimmiden).

181 565 721 [727] They are of a more peaceful nature than the Imochar, perhaps because they are less virile and less courageous. Still, they were often taken on raids against their will by the Imochar, and, aided by their taste for gain, they began before long to pillage on their own each time that a good opportunity presented itself. They often organized expeditions on their own initiative, but, if they were successful, they had to pay a certain share of the loot to the nobles. This was a guarantee for the future, the Imochar said, knowing full well that a raid brings about a counterraid, and that they were liable to suffer /166/ the repercussions of the "misconduct" of their vassals one day or another.

565 701 Some Imrad even acquire renown as great warriors, and some Imochar have agreed to place themselves under their command during a raid, bowing to their superiority.

[714] There are ordinary Imrad (goatherds) and warrior Imrad among the Ioullimmiden. The former did not take part in war, while the others were in all combats and, for that reason, had a right to the same armaments as the Imochar, but without the buckler.

565 631 Some tribes even became so strong militarily that they succeeded in freeing themselves completely from Imochar guardianship. This is the case of the Kel Gossi /Gossi/ from the loop of the Niger.

565 [582] Imochar sometimes marry Imrad women who are renowned for their beauty, but no inverse cases have come to our knowledge.

565 Unions, or more exactly concubinage, between Imrad and
[595] Negresses are very common.

[567] Imrad have the right to possess black slaves who are employed in household work and in keeping the herds.

114 Schirmer has said that the Ahaggar Imrad were sedentary peoples
241 entrusted with keeping the gardens; (1) he has committed an error,

565 1. Le Sahara, p. 298.

certainly because of erroneous information. This is all the more curious since Duveyrier had already defined exactly the position of the Imrad. (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord,
p. 334.

114 Duveyrier translated the word amrid by the word "serf," which
565 corresponds exactly to the Arab expression ra'aya, and also because
566 the ra'aya are subjects liable to forced labor and taxes, whom the marabouts are not allowed to possess by Moslem law. Duveyrier believed he was confirmed in his opinion because of the fact that the Inislimen of the Ajjer did not have the right to have Imrad. This is an error of interpretation. This Arabic term cannot be suitable under the circumstances, for the social class of the Tuareg Imrad has no equivalent among the Arabs.

We have preferred the term "vassals" which is more suitable
[651] in our minds, because the Imrad are not unconditionally subject to forced labor, they pay a perfectly defined vassalage fee, their
[643] chiefs participate in the election of the aménokal, and they them-
[657] selves own slaves.

/167/ Moreover, the term "vassals" has been adopted by Richer, Deniker, Verneau, etc.

565 In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Daga,
192 a word of Sonrhaï origin, as is the word Bourdame which designates
the Imochar.

565 Owners of a great many goats, the Ahaggar Imrad are limited
233 to short moves, but they are not sedentary. They actually have a
423 great many centers of cultivation, but they do not cultivate them-
241 selves; for this purpose they use Negroes from the Tidikelt -- the
563 Harratin /Haratin/ who act as tenant farmers and cultivators.

563 Assimilated vassals. -- Tribes bearing the names Issekkemâren
and Irréguénaten /Irreganaten/ are generally assimilated with the
Imrad. These tribes, although also vassals of the Imochar, are
appreciably different from the Imrad from the social point of view.

The Issekkemâren and the Irréguénaten are not people of their
race in the eyes of the Tuareg. Linked to them by some remote
[602] bonds of kinship, they are considered mixtures, exactly as their
name indicates. They are the product of mixed marriages, general-
[582] ly of Tuareg women with Arabs or Berbers. The term Irréguénaten
has even been extended to groups springing from Imochar women or
Imrad men. They exist in several confederations; there are
Irréguénaten among the Ihâggaren as well as among the river
Tuareg, Issekkemâren among the Ihâggaren and in the Timbuktu
region.

563 Socially they occupy a higher rank than the Imrad; they are
631 free, and their vassalage to the Imochar is much more liberal. They
have placed themselves under their protection because they were
[643 too weak to insure their own defense. For this reason, they pay an
651] annual indemnity called rharama to the aménokal. They administer
their own affairs just as the Imrad do, and they have the same mores
[184] as the Tuareg. On the surface they cannot be distinguished from
them. They also speak Tamashek, although they are less rigorous
[567 keepers of the old traditions, it is true. They own slaves, but they
461] do not show as great a repugnance for work as the Imochar and the
Imrad. There are never unions between them and the Imochar,
[582] and they are quite rare with the Imrad.

567 of their ancestors. Ahaggar slaves are perfectly adapted to the desert and possess physical qualities of sobriety much superior to those of their racial brothers /170/ in the Sudan, who have difficulty living there when they are transported from the Sudan.

The Akli is subject to forced labor at the will of his master. He owes all his work to his master and is his property, but he receives a few advantages and can use a few days of work a week for himself.

In the Ahaggar the Iklan are treated perfectly well by their masters, to whom they are quite attached. They share meals with them and sustain with an even temper the good or bad fortune which the camp enjoys. Their children are reared with those of the Tuareg and on the same footing.

They benefit from certain humanitarian rules which do credit to the Tuareg. Thus a slave who is too young or too old cannot be liberated and must be supported by his master.

428 The Iklan are bequeathed as a heritage; they may be possessors of animals, whose usufruct they then have; but upon their death these animals fall to their masters and not to their own children.

The Imochar, Inislimen, and Imrad have all rights over their slaves. The latter cannot marry without their consent. Generally,
567 when there are a man slave and a woman slave in the same camp,
582 they are married to each other, and the man receives a goat which
583 he gives to his wife as a bride price. If the slave wants to seek a wife for himself and finds one in another camp, he receives nothing from his master and must find the means to pay his wife's bride price by himself; this bride price is commonly fixed at ten goats. The slaves put in charge of keeping the flocks and who are often absent from the camp because of their occupation usually do not
836 marry. "They take their pleasure where they find it," said Father de Foucauld.

565 The Tuareg often take slave women as concubines. There are
567 several advantages to this: first, they have no bride price to pay,
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565 and, second, they are dealing with a woman who submits to their
567 caprices more easily than a woman of their race and whom they can
595 change at will. Children born of these concubinages are free but are
not members of their father's class. The latter recognizes them as
[428] his, but they are morally considered slaves. However, they can
inherit from their father.

565 /171/ Tuareg women of the noble class who have relations with
833 the Iklan are discredited among their own people. But the case is
558 not very rare, it seems, particularly since a legend maintains that
[842] the relations between Imochar women and captives are sterile.

567 The Iklan have very corrupt mores and practice pederasty and
[838 other vices. To steal and lie is instinctive for them, defects found
679] for that matter in most of the Sudanese Negroes.

Thus, when they keep goats in the pasture, they are accustomed
[272] to sucking them. Therefore, in some camps they never receive any
milk since it is rightfully presumed that they have served themselves
[304 first. Some masters, to protect themselves from these thefts, do not
234] hesitate to padlock the mouths of the herdsmen by perforating their
lips. A few years ago, there was still an old woman in the Ahaggar
who had suffered this mutilation.

They live very familiarly with their masters, and some have
deserved their confidence, either by their intelligence or by their
[644] courage during raids. The former amenokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa
ag Amastan, was always accompanied by his Negro Chernach, and
the feats of war that they accomplished together are still the object
of the most marvelous tales during camp nights.

567 A slave may ask to change masters when he is mistreated or
685 when he hopes for more advantages. Since the Tuareg generally
does not want to be separated from his slave with no recompense,
the slave resorts to a subterfuge which consists in cutting off the ear
of an animal from the herd of the master to whom he wishes
henceforth to belong, or committing some other depredation of the
same sort. This offense brings about a right of life or death over the
slave who commits it, on the part of the injured party. In practice,
according to the accepted custom, this slave automatically becomes

175 the Taîtok chief, and Ser'ir ag Bedda, the chief of the Tégéhé-
631 Mellet, accepted this vassalage without question, but later on they
643 raised endless difficulties. This policy, which had been initiated to
648 reinforce the authority of Moussa ag Ǎmâstan, caused us several disappointments. As early as 1910, Captain Niéger, Adjutant Commander of the Tidikelt-Hoggar, interpreted the dissidence of two Imrad tribes, the Ǎit Loaien and the Kel-i-n-Tounîn, as the beginning of serious complications.

We were able to measure his perspicacity during the revolt of 1916-1918, and the misunderstanding between the Kel Réla and Taîtok still persists today. But since the Taîtok and the Tégéhé-Mellet participated in the revolt of 1916-1918 and their chiefs did not live up to the confidence which had been placed in them, they were placed under the direct authority of the aménokal of the Ahaggar, with the title of amrar.

## Tobol of the Kel Rela

631 The tobol of the Kel Rela is the most important in the Ahaggar,
643 and its chief is at the same time the aménokal of the confederation.

565 It is formed by a certain number of noble families, several of
which have been reduced to one or two tents. They are the Inemba,
631 the Iboglân, the Ikerremîen, the Tégéhé-n-agg-Ali, and the
643 Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal; all of whom are entitled to the tobol, and the Kembiden, the Oulad el Goute, the Oulad Amechaoui, and the Oulad Ibra, who lost their right to the tobol through misalliances.

173 Legend recounts that the Kel Rela nobles were descended from a woman by the name of Ti-n-Hinân, who came from the Tafilalet with her servant Takamat. Then her people bore the name of Kel Ehan Mellen (meaning "white-tent peoples") as opposed to another tribe, the Issetafenine, "black-tent peoples," who were the ancestors of the Ioullimmiden.

Later the dominant fraction was the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, /183/ which was that fraction of the former Aménokal Sidi, and which was composed of the Kel Rela, the Taîtok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet.

631 They did not take part in the revolt of 1916-1918. But since [669] they left the environs of Kidal in spite of the order which had been given them to remain there, they were overtaken and raided by the column of Captain Depommier in the outskirts of Tamaïa.

565 The Iklan-en-Taousit. -- The Iklân-en-Tǎousit, still called 644 Kel Koas, were probably former servants of the Imeṇân; /198/ they 631 made up the sultan's guard and were still dependent on his command at the end of the last century.

Their name means "servant of the tribe." They are said to be [184] of low birth, and unlike all the other Tuareg, they have no aversion [241] to working the land. They contract alliances with the people of the Djanet oasis.

631 They are subdivided into Iklân Settafen and Iklân Mellen, and [162] they include about 180 people, some 60 of them men.

[231] They own about 250 camels and 400 goats which are grazed in the Lower Ahaggar, in the Tǎhalra, and in the region of Silet-Ǎbalessa, as well as in the northeast of the Adrar near Tin Zaouaten.

[241 423] Much interested in cultivation, they own gardens in the centers of Tîgeneouin, Ǎbalessa, and Tifert, as well as in the little palm grove at Tibeghîn, beside Silet.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they did not do anything to speak of.

[648] Today they furnish a good part of our mounted troupe.

563 631 The Issekkemaren. -- The Issekkemaren, whose name is synonymous with "mixed," were probably from Arab fathers and Tuareg mothers.

They are subdivided into the following eight tribes:

Iheiaouen Hâda
Kel In Rhar'
Kel Tǎfedest
Kel Immîdir
Kel Tǎzoûlet
Kel I-n-Toûnîn
Kel Téroûrirt
Kel Ouhet

1; Lhote--60 E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

## Tobol of the Tǎitok

631 The Tǎitok are the high-born nobles of the Ahaggar along with
●565 the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

They are related to the Kel Rela by Kella's female cousin,
[602] Sakina, who was married to Amer el Khadj, amrar of the Tăitok.

According to Duveyrier, part of this tribe is of the same origin
[173] as the Imenân sultans, that is, descendants of Idris, and the other
part is originally from the Kel Fadei in Aïr where the stock /souche/
still exists. (1)

114 The Tǎitok captured by the Mouadi Chaamba at Hassi Inifel in
631 1887 reported to Captain Bissuel that they rejected any fraternity
565 with the Ihǎggaren: "We are natives of the country where we live;
our fathers were born there, also our ancestors, as far back as the
beginning of the world. Our ancestors did not come from a foreign
country. At no time were we the brothers of the Hoggar or the
Ǎjjer or any other tribe." (2) This version does not seem to be of
any great value, and Captain Bissuel gives it with reservations, by
setting forth the probable ignorance of his informants.

They are very independent in spirit and can never bear without
579 balking the predominance, even in name only, of the Kel Rela
631 and the suzerainty of the aménokal of the Ahaggar. After the
643 division of the Imrad, they still endeavored to seize the aménokalat,
[181] which gave rise to fratricidal struggles with the Kel Rela. These
175 battles are even more deserving of the name of fratricide /203/
by the fact that the Kel Rela and the Tăitok are bound by numerous
marriages and are all more or less cousins.

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1. _Les Touareg du Nord_, p. 322.

2. _Les Touareg de l'Ouest_
/The Western Tuareg/, p. 18
(Algiers, 1888).

631 The amrar of the Tǎitok is named according to matriarchal rules, and his election must be approved by the chiefs of the Imrad tribes. However, it must be pointed out that since Amrar Salah the chiefs have succeeded from father to son upon several occasions.

101 The Tǎitok sometimes give the name Ar'rerf Ǎhnet to /205/ their group, from the name of the region where they range most of the time and also from their Imrad. (1)

> 1. "Ar'rerf" corresponds here to "tobol." According to Nicolas, op. cit., "Agref," following his orthography, means small fraction.

631
565
[582] The Tǎitok live on very good terms with their vassals, and the vassals, proud of being called Tǎitok, espouse all the rivalries of their lords. Marriages between different castes are not uncommon, and many nobles have married Imrad women, which causes their children to lose political rights to the tobol. But the greater and greater extension of this custom will necessarily bring about modifications in the customary law of filiation, or else patriarchy will finally replace matriarchy.

[651] The Imrad pay a lump tioussé which is divided among the different Imochar. There is no longer any individual right /droit/ like that still found among the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

631
648
[101] Thieves to end all thieves, the Tǎitok have still been able to keep alliances almost everywhere outside their country in the regions they have to cross to carry out their robberies; these alliances are military or protective. Thus, in order to keep from being robbed, the Sékakna and the Mazil, Arab tribes from the environs of Ǎkabli who sometimes nomadized in the Ǎdrar Ǎhnet, paid them a slight due. They were allied with the Fergoumoussen, an Imochar tribe from the Adrǎr, with the Tarat Mellet, the Kel Boujbiha, the Kel Arouan, the Tadjakant, the Arib, and the Kel Taoudeni. These

412 Each mistress of a tent has a little
356 wooden scraper to clean the floor of the tent, which is generally
342 covered with a layer of fine sand taken from the bed of the nearby
wadi.

415 Let us add one or two earthen pots, little teapots and tea glasses,
and we have an idea of Tuareg furniture, which, as one may
realize, is reduced to the simplest terms.

484 When a camp is moved, all these objects are loaded on asses,
492 provided for the occasion with little pack saddles. The women are
[462] left with folding the baggage, loading it, and transporting it on the
asses. They themselves ride on the baggage during the moving;
● [565] only noblewomen travel on camel back. Camels are used in
moving only if it is a long trip.

/230/

## Chapter 3

## Food

243 People may have said that the Tuareg, like many herding
262 peoples, lived on the milk from their herds. More precisely, they
live on the products of their animals, but milk and meat alone
would not be enough. Indeed, the base of their diet is a graminacea,
bechena (Sorghum cernuum Host.), a kind of millet cultivated in
the Saharian oases and in the Sudan.

[252 The Tuareg eat some wheat, but very rarely. Especially during
their moves and in the caravans, they eat wheat cakes cooked in
484] the sand, for they are easily and quickly made.

It is rather curious to note that the Tuareg, who belong cultural-
[101] ly to the Mediterranean civilization (which may be called the
wheat civilization), have not kept wheat as the basic food as other
North African peoples have. And yet the question of food is one
of the things which most ties man to his native milieu and which

32 If, secondly, we look for the aptitudes which the Tuareg have for working these different raw materials, we notice that their enumeration follows the same order as above, with the reservation
325 that none of them know how to work metals. The latter occupations
463 are the prerogative of the Enaden, that is to say, the artisans, and
564 it is evident from this that without the artisans' help Tuareg industry would be limited to work in wood, leather, and esparto. In short, it is the cultural cycle of the pastoral peoples of the steppe.

[174] It is only much later, when the Tuareg had integrated the Enaden with their social organization, that they used metals. Therefore,
[415
531] we perceive the considerable role which artisans must have played in technical evolution and that of art itself.

/277/ The presence of Enaden in the camps has reduced the manual labor
[322] of the Tuareg, but the latter are still able to make wooden articles -- milking vessels, bowls, tent stakes, etc.

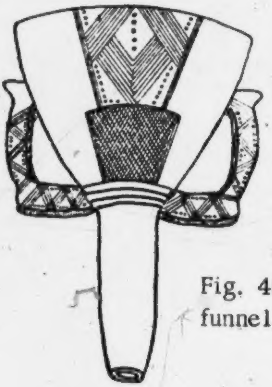

Fig. 46. Wooden funnel.

● 565 One of their most curious customs is that women from the high
462 nobility work wooden vessels and funnels with their hands by means
322 of a little adze. They usually give them to the wives of their Imrad,
431 who are very appreciative of these gifts. In the Ahaggar camps we found many little utensils which were the work of famous noblewomen, of taménokalin whose names are piously kept; these objects were saved with much veneration. This custom is even more re-
[174] markable since we know the scorn that the Tuareg have for manual labor; we must see in it a relic of woodworking which must formerly have been everyone's work, without distinction, before the creation of the artisan class.

583 The bride price (taggalt) to be paid by the bridegroom-to-be
[584] is then set. It is usually seven camels among the Imochar and
less among the Imrad, where it may be made up of camels, goats,
[565] or sheep. Asses are never given. This bride price may be paid
all at once or in installments. It becomes the property of the
parents of the girl; she, in turn, may be given a dowry by them.

593 In marriage (addoubâl) the woman retains free control of her
[562] property and in no way meets household expenses. These expenses
fall entirely on the husband. By this system, therefore, the woman's
[421] fortune grows rapidly, while the man's remains stationary or
decreases.

As soon as the bride price is settled, the date is set for the
584 marriage, sometimes a few days after the request, other times
a year later or even two years if the girl is very young. The latter
[184] custom is particularly in use in Sudanese tribes, however.

585 The marriage festivities take place in the girl's camp, and the marriage is consummated only a week later. The brothers and parents of the fiancé come to the camp of the girl's parents, where they are entertained and given a sumptuous meal. During the seven days before the marriage is consummated, the fiancé does not have the right to come to the camp in daylight. He then takes shelter in a tent apart, where his friends keep him company. During this entire period he bears the name of anesdiben.

[536] The entertainment which accompanies the marriage
festivities consists of a fantasia executed by meharists who pass
back and forth in groups of two or four in front of the women,
[533] among whom the fiancée is sitting. The women play the
tambourine and violin accompanied by /292/ songs. In the
Ahaggar the marriage song is played to the musical rhythm of
"aliouen, " that is, the olive trees. This custom, according to
[174] Dr. Vermale, is a trace of the ancient pagan influence, where
the olive tree was the tree dedicated to the goddess of love. (1)

1. Vermale, op. cit., p. 175.

# Plate XV

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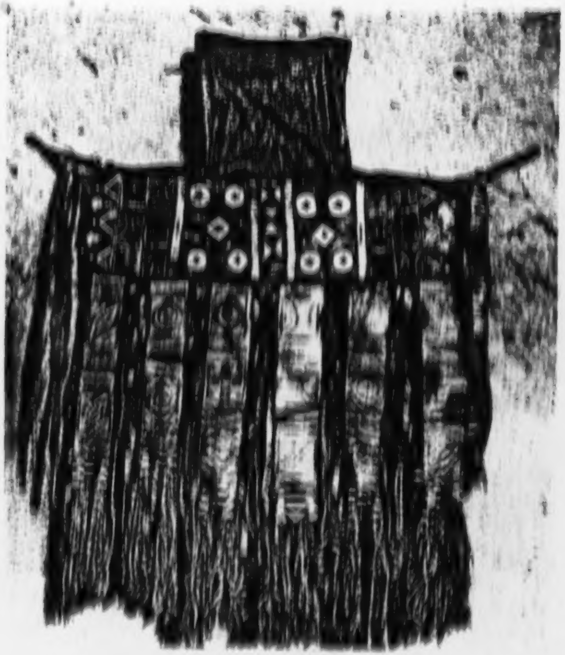
Old noblewoman from the Kel Rela tribe weaving a bag with goat's hair thread.



Goatskin bag used by women to transport their personal clothing. The very delicate decoration is obtained by cutting out the skin and applying embroidered leather.

777 sometimes the Koran as an amulet, but that they had kept its
fatalism. (1) Many authors also take pleasure in pointing out

their more than superficial polish in matters of Islamism.

781 In spite of all this, we must not exaggerate the degree of
777 irreligion of the Tuareg. Since the French occupation, the
777 action of marabouts who cross the country trading is growing
678 slowly but surely. The state of lethargy into which the suppression
of their life of brigandage has thrown them is gradually pushing
them toward religion, and it is becoming more and more common
[517 to see young nobles kill time by reciting in front of a small
●565] Koran board.

771 Superstition is very strong in them. They have not succeeded
in breaking away from their ancient beliefs, and they wear a
[789] quantity of amulets which are often pagan in origin (jackal's
foot, lizard's head, hyena skin, etc.).

[776] One observes certain noble families /307/ that, along with
orthodox saints, invoke mysterious personages who can only be
ancient minor gods they never got rid of. (1) In the old legends

of the Ahaggar, Father de Foucauld has found the names of some
of them: Tamâres, Bourdân, Tâssoud, Ouerdaz, Noulana, Radès.
The Ihǎggaren used to call on them to make their wishes come
[177 true, but today these personages have fallen into oblivion, and
782] only a few old people still remember their names. (2)

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1. Essai sur la littérature des Berbères /Essay on the Literature of the Berbers/, p. 388.

1. Gautier, La conquête du Sahara, in Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

2. In Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

439 These transactions are chiefly centered around tea, sugar, cloth, perfumes, hardware, carbide, and blankets from the Touat. They cause quite an appreciable movement of camels from which the Ihaggaren benefit, along with the Arabs from In-Salah who rent their camels to traders.

442 Transport. -- We need not repeat that without the camel the Sahara would be uninhabited today. Indeed, it plays a capital role in transport between oases; it is the mount used by warriors and people who are moving and the vehicle for baggage. People would not be able to do without its services the moment it is a question of crossing a hundred or so kilometers in a region not supplied with watering places.

The ass also plays a big role, but its use is more localized. [312] It is confined to the edges of the massif, where it is rare not to find water during a day's march. The ass really assures all internal transport -- that necessitated by moving camps, transport of water [565] and even of persons -- for although the Imochar never travel except on camels, the Imrad /318/ commonly make use of the ass, and their wives know no other mounts. Its role is even more appreciated because it saves camels which, in the Ahaggar, must be submitted /only/ to moderate labor. In addition, it is always handy, for it lives near the camps while camels are often several days' march away because of pasture needs.

Meharists have a special harness: light saddles which are placed on the animal's withers and which are designed to receive the different bags of salt and waterskins.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have several kinds of saddles: 1) the [241] *tarik*, with the pommel in the shape of a cross and covered with red leather; 2) the *tamzak*, shaped the same way, but much more [531] luxurious, with the outside of the pommel and the back decorated with little perforated metal plates and copper studs; 3) the *tahiast*, [531] [322] a coarse saddle with a palette-shaped pommel, either in bare wood or covered with leather decorated with geometric designs.

492 adopted by all the Tuareg of the Adrar des Iforas, which the
171 Chaamba Arabs also use, and which is derived from the saddle of the Moors of the western Sahara.

492 [565] [323] [531] Ahaggar noblewomen, who travel only on meharis, have special saddles resembling the basour of the Arabs but without the arch covered in cloth. These saddles are called akhaoui; they are made /319/ of wood and ornamented with large pommels in front and small plaques trimmed with copper nailheads on the side. For long moves these saddles can be provided with a wicker cage covered with cloth, but this is not a common practice.

[415] Saddles hold leather bags which contain either a change of clothes or food reserves as well as the waterskins constituting the necessary provision for crossing regions without wells.

For transport, camels are provided with a special packsaddle made of palm fibers which literally crowns their backbone. Most of these packsaddles are made in the Tidikelt. For caravans which last a long time the animals are loaded with about 100 kilograms, plus the waterskins that are generally added to the baggage. The servants, who accompany the animals and do not have personal mounts at their disposal, /320/ ride on top as excess weight and make the whole trip under these conditions.

[481] The Tuareg are very poor walkers and cannot conceive of a person's going on foot, even to spare the mount for a few kilometers.

[312] Asses, which as we have said are used for transport within the massif, are provided with a little packsaddle serving as a saddle at the same time. When camp is moved, they are loaded with the tent, tent stakes, and bags containing food reserves. They also assure the carrying of water from the well to camp.

484 492 [481] When an Amrid travels alone on a voyage, he takes an ass to carry his water, his small baggage, and his blanket. Pushing the ass before him, he walks behind carrying his lance over his shoulders. He mounts on it only during the hot hours of the day.

Lefaucheux type. But their prices were high for Tuareg pocket- 411
books, and it was difficult to procure powder and bullets, which 437
made firearms uncommon and often the prerogative of the chiefs. 554

Tuareg weapons vary according to the circumstances. The
Imochar carries the arms he likes: they include the sword 184
(tacouba), which is the 411
weapon par excellence 565
of the nobles; the iron
lance (allar') carried by
nobles and vassals;
javelins with iron shoulder [531]
and point and wooden staff (tarda), which are set aside for vassals and slaves; and the forearm dagger (télak) provided with a leather ring so that it may be hung from the wrist. In the Sudan slaves also carry wooden clubs (tabouri), heavy branches with a knot at one end.

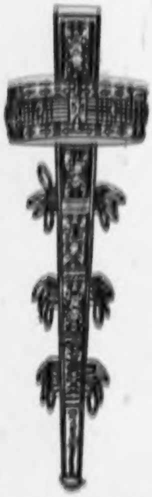
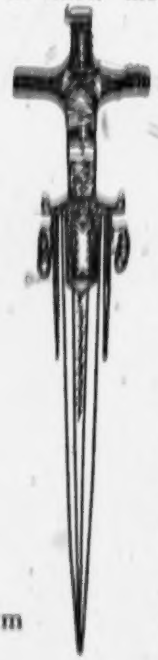


Fig. 57. Old type arm dagger.



The Tuareg have only one defensive weapon, the buckler (ahrer) which is made of oryx antelope skin. It was generally the prerogative of the nobles, and only
they had the right to carry it. It recalls the coat of arms by its [531]
shape and the ideology which surrounds it; the decorative motifs which it bears have a magic character.

The Tuareg are adroit fencers, fighting hand /326/ to hand 411
with their swords while protecting themselves with their bucklers, 714
which cover their bodies and which they handle with a great deal of dexterity in spite of the volume and weight. The sword cuts

101 country just to the West of Agadès (Lhote, 1955, p. 217). These movements were but the 166 latest major episodes in a general southwest- 131 ward drift of which we have evidence going back at least as far as the 8th century (Rodd, 1926, p. 376) when the weight of the great Arab invasions first began to be felt.

The military administrative unit known as 631 the *Annexe du Hoggar* covers roughly the territory that lies between Amguid and In Guezzam, and Djanet and Ouallen, and corresponds fairly closely to the present normal range of [101] the Ahaggar Tuareg. This area is about the size of New York State, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland put together (146,300 square miles, with nearly 31,000,000 inhabitants in 1950), and supports a total native popu- [161] lation of probably about 12,000, roughly the same as that of Athol or Swampscott, Massachusetts, or Gainesville, Georgia. Cambridge, Massachusetts, has more than ten times as many permanent residents. Twice as many people work in the Pentagon Building alone as live in the entire Ahaggar.

Accurate population figures for nomadic 162 peoples are always very hard to obtain, and in the Ahaggar it is practically impossible to arrive at anything better than very rough approximations. We are probably safe in assuming, however, that there are about 4,400 Tuareg and 4,000 Negro slaves in the area, plus some 3,500 sedentary Haratin, a few small families of smiths, and a very small handful of Arab shopkeepers from the Northwest who have settled in the largest sedentary centers.

197 The Tuareg speak Tamaheq, which is a form of Senhadjan Berber.

**Social Organization.** The Tuareg are divided 619 into confederations as we have seen, and these are divided into tribes which are subdivided 565 into clans and the latter into fractions. The nomadic population is divided socially into

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[534] [6] A hemispherical drum made of half a big gourd with a skin stretched over the opening.

[7] Tuareg tribal and personal names are spelled in 551 as many different ways as are the geographical names 104 of the Sahara. The most common variations are found in the alternative use of *dj* and g (or *gu*), *sh* (or *ch*), and *h*, and *gh* (or *r'*) and *r*, all of which sometimes reflect local differences in pronunciation and sometimes the personal preferences of various transliterators.

[8] A chief may be succeeded by his younger 622 brother, as the Amenokal Younès was succeeded by Guémama (commonly written *ag Mama*) in 1820 or

565 three main classes, the Tuareg nobles (fig. 46)
and vassals (fig. 47) and the Negro slaves.

Rank seems to be essentially a quality of the
565 clan rather than of the individual, for the
614 Tuareg commonly speak of "noble clans" and
"vassal clans," and, when one is in doubt about
[554] a person's social status, one does not ask what
his rank is but what clan he belongs to. The
"tobol,"[6] the symbol of precedence, is clan
property and belongs to no particular family,
although it is kept by the chief of the premier
clan of a tribe as the symbol of his authority.

The Ahaggar confederation comprises three
619 tribes, the Kel Rela, the Tégéhé Mellet and the
614 Taïtoq, each headed by a noble clan which
gives its name to the tribe as a whole[7] (figs.
25, 26, *b* and 27). Noble clans by definition
outrank vassal clans, so that the chief of a
noble Ahaggar clan is usually chief of his tribe
as well. The noble clans and their dependent
vassal clans with them are arranged in an order
of precedence, and so the chief of the premier
[643] clan (the *Kel Rela*) is also chief of the Kel
Rela tribe and paramount chief (*Amenokal*)
of the Ahaggar confederation.

It is men who govern at all levels of Ahaggar
614 society. Among the Tuareg a tribal chief is
622 chosen from the premier clan of the tribe by
562 a clan council made up of the male heads of
households, but he must be confirmed in office
by a council of male representatives of all the
component clans of his tribe because his tenure
depends materially on the willingness of these
clans to pay him tribute. For the same reason,
the final confirmation of an amenokal rests
with a council made up of male representatives
of all the clans in the whole confederation.
Tribal chiefs also act as judges, and an amenokal is the chief justice of his confederation.

622 Chieftainship is hereditary in the female
line,[8] but within fairly broad and seemingly
rather indefinite limits of degree of relation-

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thereabouts, but this succession may not have been thought of as brother-to-brother inheritance after all. It seems perhaps more likely that the successor in such a case is looked on as an heir of the former chief's mother rather than of the former chief himself. Ancient Egyptian records, cited by Bates (1914, p. 112), tell of at least one Libyan chief who was succeeded by his younger brother in preference to his son. It would be a waste of time for us to try to explain the few early cases of father-to-son inheritance that have been reported because the circumstances surrounding them are not at all clear.

611 patrilineal elements being present together in
a single complex from its beginning, and we
121 have no good reason to suppose that this tenta-
tive assumption may not be equally applicable
to the Tuareg. But we are hedged about with
lack of information. We are faced here with
yet another instance of the futility of empiri-
cal deduction unsupported by adequate field
investigation of the culture concepts that lie
at the root of our problem.

**Land Tenure and Tribute.** The Amenokal of
423 the Ahaggar is said to be "the owner of the
643 land" by virtue of his position as paramount
chief of a warrior aristocracy. We are inclined
to suspect, however, that this may be an over-
simplification of the case, for the land of the
various tribes that make up the Ahaggar con-
federation is apparently treated as basically
communal property, the title to which is
vested in each succeeding Amenokal as an ex-
ecutive trustee rather than as a proprietor.
This brings out the very important point that
the Amenokal of the Ahaggar Tuareg seems
to be essentially a chief executive and not a
true king or autocratic chief in the commonly
accepted sense of those terms. And, theoreti-
cally at least, he can be forced out of office
by popular demand. All things considered, his
position is not so very different in fact from
643 that of the President of the United States.

622 The Amenokal and the noble tribal chiefs
565 under him collect tribute from those whose
[651] destinies they control, but they are also sup-
posed to protect these people by force of arms
when necessary. When the warriors of a noble
[721] clan go raiding they often take the men of one
or more of their vassal clans along, and these
vassals receive a substantial share of plunder
if the raid is a success, but vassals also have
an obligation to fight at the side of their noble
masters in intertribal wars.

Each vassal clan holds exclusive pasturage
423 rights to a definite territory upon which no
[565] one else may enter, without express permission
of the Amenokal, excepting noble clans who
are always free to use the pastures of their
own vassals as and when they please. Some
men also hold exclusive hunting rights to
certain specified areas. Many Tuareg own
garden plots in agricultural centers, and some-
times date palms and fruit trees of other kinds
as well, all of which holdings are now par-

423 celed out to Haratin sharecroppers although some of them used to be worked by slaves. [427] Since ownership of land is never outright in any case, each leaseholder must pay rent in one form or another to someone or other at least once a year.

565 Vassal clans usually pay annual tribute to their tribal chiefs or to the Amenokal, or 651 both. This tribute includes such things as dates, millet, congealed melted butter, baby camels, sheep, goats and manufactured articles of various kinds, a share of all merchandise imported by the clan as well as a share of the profits from any caravan commerce they may have, and about half of any booty they may capture in independent raids. Each vassal family used to contribute towards the upkeep of a particular noble family, and the nobles in their turn, men and women alike, were constantly begging from their vassals who could hardly afford to refuse them. But if this begging became unbearable, the vassals would sometimes pull up stakes and move quietly out of reach of their noble parasites.

651 Lhote (1955, pp. 190–91) says that all adult males, potential warriors that is, of the Ahaggar confederation, were supposed to pay an annual head tax of 5 francs (then worth about 4 cents) each to the Amenokal as recently as 1948. Hunters annually paid in mouflon for exclusive local hunting rights. After each harvest each Hartani would pay a third of a bushel (more or less) of grain to the Amenokal for each garden plot that he worked, in addition to a share of the produce which he paid to the local leaseholder. But much of 651 this fiscal system has fallen into disuse in recent years, for the Amenokal together with 178 his whole camp is now supported almost entirely by the French Government, which also contributes free grain weekly to many of the poorer Haratin. Once more it is the middle class, the vassal Tuareg and the lesser nobles in this case, who suffer most severely from the stresses of cultural change.

**Tuareg Economy and the Roots of the Class** 233 **System.** All Saharan nomads live primarily off their livestock, and livestock lives off pastur- 137 age. There are two main kinds of pasture in the Sahara, the permanent growth of wiry yellowish grass, little woody shrubs and thorny bushes that one finds scattered very thinly

233 [137] across much of the land and concentrated along dry river bottoms, and the small patches of thick, lush, emerald green grass that flourish briefly in hollows here and there following rainstorms. Pasturage is always either very sparse or very scattered in the Ahaggar and so the nomadic inhabitants of the area must move often, for the supply in the immediate neighborhood of a camp is quickly exhausted. [312] To make life still more difficult, water points are often few and far between as we already know, and it is not unusual to find good pasturage so far from any water that it cannot be used for more than a day or two, if at all. This combination of circumstances has 233 221 made it necessary for the Ahaggar Tuareg to break up into small and highly mobile camp units composed of fractions of clans, or even single families, and each of these units must move at intervals of usually somewhere between a week and a month and often over considerable distances, although always within the territorial limits of the tribe (fig. 36).

As soon as a camp or constellation of neighboring camps is established in a new location, the head men first set up the daily grazing routine of the flocks and then set out at once to scout far and wide in search of the next pasture to be used and the next camp sites that their families will occupy. And so it goes the year around, and so the Tuareg of the Ahaggar are highly mobile nomads by force of circumstances, for they cannot survive otherwise in the region which they have made their own.

565 233 463 182 It is in the compelling circumstances of their environment that we find the roots of the class system of the Ahaggar Tuareg, for, quite apart from the question of mobility, such conditions can be met successfully only by a well conceived and firmly established division of labor. In the Ahaggar it is the nobles of a tribe and the headmen of the vassal clans who ride out in search of new pastures and at the same time act as military scouts, always on the watch for enemy raiders as

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[423] *The fundamental difference between the two systems lies in the fact that the basis of land tenure among the Tuareg is not that of the *beneficium* while personal allegiance is not based on the concept of the *comitatus*. The true feudal system of mediaeval Europe was based on the conferring of privilege by an absolute ruler (or one of his vassals) on a less

565 well as for potential victims, alien camps or
233 caravans which they can raid themselves. The
vassals in their turn are responsible for the
463 daily management and immediate protection
of the flocks and herds, and also constitute
an armed reserve that can be called up quickly
in case a battle becomes imminent or the opportunity
for a major raid presents itself. The
[567] slaves take care of the domestic service and
household chores of the camps while their
boys go out as shepherds to the flocks.

Thus it is clear that the Tuareg class system
565 is a necessity of pastoral life in the Ahaggar;
642 for no pastoral community can survive there
without nomadizing, and no community of
[182] nomads can survive without a rigidly formalized
division of labor and authority similar
to that embodied in the class system of the
Tuareg. It now becomes clear also that the
seemingly paradoxical combination, within the
social framework, of rigidity during the period
of a single adult lifetime and a relative fluidity
over slightly longer periods still so short as
to span often no more than a couple of generations
and sometimes less, is not in fact a
paradox at all. It merely reflects in simple
functional terms the fact that extreme conditions
call for an extreme response, that the
framework within which the allocation of
authority is made at various levels in the communal
structure must be very firmly established
but must also allow considerable freedom
periodically in the choice of those who
are to occupy critical positions of decision and
command so as to avoid the danger of having
such positions filled automatically by persons
unfit to occupy them, a danger that could
well be quickly fatal to the whole community.

And finally we see that Tuareg government
really has nothing essential in common with
the feudal system of mediæval Europe to
which it has so often been confusingly compared.[8]
In the last analysis authority resides
in the vassals, for they can make and at least
[643] in theory break the mightiest of all the nobles,
the Amenokal himself, and they can do all
this by peaceful means, at least again in theory.

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powerful neighbor in exchange for some specified kind of continuing or periodic service. Among the Tuareg the relationship between "noble" and "vassal" looks much the same at first glance, but this is an optical illusion, a case of merely superficial resemblance.

565 this by peaceful means, at least again in theory.
642 Ancient Egyptian records tell of a Libyan chieftain, Meryey who was peacefully deposed and replaced by a younger brother following a disastrous defeat in battle (Bates, 1914, pp. 114–15, 218 and 221). It is some of the vassal clans that are the biggest numerically and also the richest on a *per capita* basis; and if vassal clansmen pay tribute to their noble "masters" it is only because they choose to do so, because they find it in their interest to keep the nobles on their payroll so to speak. Thus the Tuareg government of the Ahaggar is in fact a kind of republic and not a real monarchy or true military aristocratic autocracy at all.

233 **Livestock.** Herds of camels and flocks of hairy sheep and goats constitute the bulk of the capital investment and so form the primary basis of Tuareg economy in the Ahaggar. The quantity and composition of the total livestock investment has been variously estimated, but the following rough approximations are probably not far from the true figures: camels–12,000, sheep–2,000, goats–20,000, donkeys–5,000 and cattle (zebus)–300 or thereabouts.
[231] Donkeys, as we have seen, are unproductive except as beasts of burden, and the cattle are so few as to be of negligible importance. Only some 4,500 camels are actually kept in the Ahaggar while the rest are put out to pasture in the Tamesna region on the northern edge of the Sudan, roughly half way between the Aïr and the Niger Bend. Most of the sheep too are pastured outside the Ahaggar proper, mainly in the country around Tin Zaouaten, southwest of the Ahaggar and northwest of the Tamesna.

235 The Haratin of the Ahaggar keep chickens, but only the eggs are eaten as a rule. The
262 Tuareg eat neither eggs, fowl nor fish, but we will discuss this further in the section on *Nomad Diet* in the following chapter.

It has been said that the Tuareg have no
232 special breed of riding camels but that likely looking animals are picked out early and given special training for use as mounts. The fact remains, however, that the young of famous stud camels are always the preferred choice, and these animals are specially marked shortly after birth. The method of marking consists of pinching up three small folds of skin in a row, about 2 to 3 inches apart, along

326 grubbing gardeners alike. They have turned their status as "untouchables" to their own advantage and so remain untouched.

326 142 Physically the smiths of the Ahaggar cover the whole range of human variation between the Bush Negro type on the one hand and the Berber variety of Mediterranean on the other, but they seem to fall mostly within a highly variable category characterized in general by "European" features combined with a yellowish brown or occasionally coppery skin, thickish lips, and curly or frizzled hair. They are lean in build as a rule, but seem softer and less wiry than the more active Tuareg (fig. 57, *a*).

326 174 And this brings us to another exasperating blank in our picture of Saharan peoples. The smiths of the Ahaggar claim to have come from the Adrar n Ifoghas and to be related to the families of smiths who live there now, and Benhazera (1908, pp. 221 and 223) reproduced an old Arabic text which states that "the smiths and the Fulani have the same mother." Cline (1937, p. 141) maintained that the art of smelting iron was introduced into the western Sudan by "camel-riding Berbers" from the North, across the Sahara. But no one really has any idea where the smiths of the Ahaggar actually did come from or when, where and from whom they first learned their trade. No one, so far as the present writer knows, has ever published measurements or blood group classifications of a single one of them, and no one seems to have found out anything to speak of about their social organization or even their kinship terminology. Not a dozen photographs of their faces are available to students. Why? Simply because the Tuareg are spectacularly romantic while the smiths are not.[18] The smiths of the Ahaggar and of the Sahara as a whole have suffered the same fate that the Spanish gypsies might have suffered had George Borrow not been born, and, like the Spanish gypsies, they are disappearing fast. 614

● 565 173 A number of vassal clans of the Ahaggar confederation are said to be of Arab or mixed

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[114] [18] Here the author has laid himself wide open to a very embarrassing question. "Why," he seems to hear the frustrated reader ask, "haven't you done something to fill this aching void yourself since you find it so distressing?" The author's time in the field has been severely limited by the exigencies of writing this preliminary survey, and recently by political

565 173 614 Arab and Tuareg ancestry. Benhazera (1908, pp. 90, 102 and 222–23), Lhote (1955, pp. 234–36) and Blanguernon (1955, pp. 52–55) all agree in lumping most of them together in a special almost tribelike class known as the Issoquamaren, but they do not agree entirely on just which clans should be included in this group. According to Benhazera the Issoquamaren once claimed descent from a woman purchased in the Adrar n Ifoghas country by Arab invaders who came there straight from Mecca about the middle of the 7th century A.D., and he adds that they are thought to have moved northward to the Touat early in the 12th century. The first part of this tale is very characteristic of the marginal Arab schools of historical fiction, or fictional history if you prefer, which are often no more reliable than is the modern school of lecturers who tell us, for example, that the Tuareg are descendants of veteran crusaders who came to the Ahaggar from the Levant. This parallel that spans the centuries is funny, to be sure, but there is much more in it than just an amusing concidence. It is a striking illustration of the fact that uncritical minds, Moslem and Christian alike, are always deeply moved by thoughts of the past glories of their race and of "that old time religion." We must never forget the dangers of grotesque misinterpretation that result from the action of this powerful subconscious force. Most of the Saharan peoples who have been converted to Islam stubbornly insist against all sense and reason that they are of Arabian Moslem origin.

According to Lhote (1955, p. 236) the Issoquamaren are believed to be the descendants of Arab fathers and Tuareg mothers of the Tademaït region, whence they were recruited as mercenaries by the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, but Blanguernon (1955, p. 52) holds that they are descended from a group of Arab tribes of the Tidikelt and the Touat who were defeated and then assimilated by the Ahaggar Tuareg in the 18th century or possibly before. The Issoquamaren have been thought by some to enjoy a social status superior, at least in

[114] unrest as well, and so he has had to resign himself to filling in small but important gaps in relatively complete pictures rather than run a serious risk of getting bogged down for months or doing only a superficial job in attempting to reconstruct pictures whose main outlines even are as yet unknown.

565 theory, to that of ordinary vassals (Lhote, 1955, p. 236), but in fact they are looked
173 down upon as greatly inferior to Tuareg vassal clans (Blanguernon, 1955, p. 52). Although
614 the Issoquamaren clans and fractions have been parceled out among various tribes of the Ahaggar confederation, they still seem to retain some remnants of the social structure of a single and united tribe. Since the Issoquamaren have become rich in camels, they have regained in practical power and influence most of what they once lost in hierarchical prestige.

[131] The Irreguenaten are based on the Tamesna region south of the Ahaggar, and nomadize from there northwestward across the Adrar n Ifoghas sometimes even as far as the Erg Chech (pronounced *Shesh*). They are believed to have sprung from a series of marriages between Gouraran and Kounta Arab men and Tuareg women of the Ibotenaten clan. The descendants of these unions became so numerous and so very rich, in camels and in slaves, that they were finally able to establish a separate clan of their own. Although they are included in the vassal category, they enjoy a nebulous but well-recognized position of precedence in relation to most of the other Tuareg vassal clans.

The Irreguenaten constitute a matri-clan subdivided into two patri-clans, the Haggarenin and the Settafnin, which are based on supposed descent from two ancestral Arab groups, one of them thought to have been of Shorfa stock. And this is very interesting as an example of a matrilineal clan structure that has been effectively split into two patrilineal clans while still remaining basically a unit in the matrilineal terms of Tuareg social and politico-economic organization and, to a great extent, in terms of its own internal economic organization too.

565 It will be noted that the partly Arab clans
614 of the Ahaggar Tuareg confederation live for the most part outside the Ahaggar proper,
101 and are distributed in an arc that curves around its southwestern, western and north-
131 western borders. The northwestern extremity of this arc continues curving eastward, then southeastward and finally on southward around the territory of the Ajjer Tuareg confederation. The southern gap in the circum-

565 ference of the resulting oval is closed by the
614 Negro-Tuareg contact zone of the southern
101 Aïr. The Ahaggar massif lies at the center of
131 this oval refuge area: it is a Berber island, so
to speak, whose broad beaches are continually
swept by waves of the surrounding Arab sea
and, along the southern and southeastern
shores, by the negroid "Gulf Stream" of the
Sudan.

565 There have probably never been many
174 Shorfa or Maraboutic families established in
563 the Ahaggar itself, although a few of them
[797] have lived there for a long time now. Arab
Shorfa missionaries from Morocco first arrived
probably in the 7th or early 8th century.
They soon set up a theocratic dynasty, the Imenan, who ruled the Ahaggar and the Ajjer Tuareg as a single confederation until about 1650, when Goma, last of the Imenan "sultans," was murdered by Biska, a noble of the Oraghen tribe of Ajjer Tuareg. There followed a long period of anarchy and civil wars out of which finally arose, about the middle of the 18th century, the main framework of the Tuareg political structure which we now know. Descendants of immigrant Arab holy men are very few and scattered in the Ahaggar today, and their power has been reduced to no more than a faint shadow of what it used to be. People of this kind are much more numerous, united and powerful in the northeastern and southwestern corners of Tuareg territory, among the Ajjer and the Ifoghas of the Adrar, than they are in the region with which we are directly concerned at the moment. It is significant, however, that as recently as 1900 a Shorfa holy man exerted decisive influence in the electoral council of the Ahaggar confederation when that body found itself seriously divided over the choice of a new amenokal (Benhazera, 1908, p. 126).

We know that Arab blood has been seeping
very gradually into the topmost level of the
Tuareg aristocracy, for at least a century,
[591] through the occasional marriages of noble
Tuareg women with Arab men. In all such
cases residence is strictly matrilocal. Since
[611] rank is inherited through the mother, a son
of this kind of union ranks as a Tuareg noble
and can become a chief. Duveyrier (1864, pp.
22–23) describes the case of the Ajjer Tuareg
governor of Ghat in 1861, whose father was

565 an Arab merchant from the Touat, Leblanc
563 (1946, table facing p. 40) mentions an heir to
174 an Ajjer Tuareg chieftainship whose father
was an Arab, and the son of a Maraboutic
Arab from Ouargla is at present one of the
potential heirs to the paramount chieftainship
of the Ahaggar confederation.

The question of Tuareg mixture with the
Teda has been discussed above, in the section
dealing with the latter group.

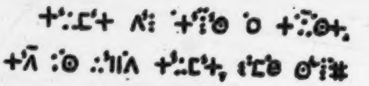
771 Although the Tuareg of the Ahaggar still
retain much of the pre-Islamic magico-religious
practices and doctrine of their animistic
ancestors, they are all Moslems now, at least
nominally, but are not very pious as a rule.
It has been said that the Tuareg once had a
Berber translation of the Koran, in the 8th
and 9th centuries (Benhazera, 1908, p. 57),
but it was long ago destroyed or lost (if
indeed such a text ever did exist) in the course
of a religious reform movement. The annual
[796] Moslem fast, during the month of Ramdhan,
is not very generally observed, although in
the middle of the 14th century Ibn Battuta
(Gibb, 1929, p. 338) noted that the Ahaggar
Tuareg suspended raiding operations during
this period.

The religious order of the Tidjani used to
794 count an overwhelming majority of the Ahaggar
Tuareg among its followers, but the Senoussi
have built up a substantial following
in the region during the last 70 years or so,
much aided in this by Tuareg who passed
through Senoussi territory on the pilgrimage
to Mecca. Very few Tuareg from the Ahaggar
778 have been to Mecca in recent times, although
Lyon (1821, pp. 101–102) saw a single
group of roughly 150 of them pass through
Mourzouk on their way there in May, 1819
(before the Senoussi order was founded). The
643 Amenokal, Mecca pilgrim or not, has usually
been the local model of formal piety. Bey ag
771 Akhamouk, the present Amenokal of the
Ahaggar, is an unusually good example of
this, as was Moussa ag Amastan in the early
years of the present century. There are indications
that in ancient times Tuareg chieftains
may have been vested with religious as
well as temporal primacy (Bates, 1914, p. 117).

The European conquest of the Sahara Desert
648 has done much to stimulate the Islamization
797 of the Tuareg in general during the last

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

eyes are probably descended from the Vandals who invaded north Africa some 300 174
years earlier. Legend, though not springing from the Tuareg themselves, suggests
they grew out of a lost band of Crusaders that wandered into the desert after the Holy
wars of the middle ages: a legend that draws attention to the Tuareg's use of chain mail [714]
and long two-handed swords and to his stature and Aryan features. The language of the [411]
Tuareg is called Tamahaq; their speech soft and guttural. In its written form, Tifinar, 194
the alphabet is possibly that of the ancient Libyans. The hieroglyphics are utterly unlike 212
Arabic and the construction of the alphabet is consonantal, a feature which makes the 174
task of translation difficult. For many years now Dr. Wakefield, an Englishwoman, has
been living in Tamanrasset making a study of Tamahaq and translating the Bible. It
is already 8 years ago that the National Bible Society of Scotland published the Book
of Ruth for missionary work among the Tuareg based on Dr. Wakefield's studies.



[539]

The Bible in Tamahaq

(*Ruth. Ch. 2, Verse 17*)

*"So she gleaned in the field until evening, and when she beat out what she had gleaned, it was about an ephah of barley."*

Again, the influence of such work is too limited at present to be a cogent factor. 771
From the standpoint of religion the Tuareg reveal a strange mixture of paganism and
lip-service to Islam. Literally, the word Tuareg—or, in its purer form Twarek—means [101]
"abandoned", i.e., the abandoned of God. To some extent the limits of the Tuareg
domain are fixed by his superstitions; which have peopled areas like the Plateau du
Tademait, north of In Salah and the mountains of Emmid-Din to the east of the Ahaggar
with ghosts and djinns. The Tuareg are, above everything, religious opportunists;
in that, like all superstitious people, they believe what suits them best. Unlike most
other social groups they do not seem to have synthetised their beliefs or emotions into
a set of religious observance that is a collective interest of the community. Marriage
and divorce exist but, sexually, the tribe is a-moral and a feature of the social structure of [832]
the group is the "ahal", a love-feast at which the men serenade their chosen lovers,
praising their beauty in terms of the moon, a flower or with images equally poetic and
universal.

Tuareg society is matriarchal: another distinctive feature that sets them apart from 567
the Arab world. Although authority appears to be invested in the male, in so far as tribal 611
groups are administered by the Amenokal, or king, it is through the women that heredity
is determined. The child of a Targui begotten by a woman outside the tribe will
not be Tuareg; but a Targuia (Tuareg woman) who has a child by a slave, for instance,
claims for the offspring direct Tuareg descent, though not necessarily in the same social
circle. There are, in fact, several social strata within Tuareg society that have arisen 565 ●
through the centuries as a result of raiding for slaves; and also from the involved relationship 567
between slaves and slaves, and masters and slaves since the children of some are
free, while others are not; and the children of the second generation of some are free.
These last are called "Hartanis", meaning literally, "free in the second generation (from
"Harr"—free, "Thani"—second). The nobility of the tribe are known as "Kel" and [291]
the men can be distinguished by the dark blue veil. The serfs, although Tuareg by
birth, wear a white veil, while the Hartanis, who are mostly of negroid descent, go
unveiled.

Thus it is that a great many influences have combined to build up the tribe and, 177
consequently, it is not surprising to find in their music certain similar incongruities. 533

4: Benhazera--1 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

# Book One

# The Tuareg in their Private and Public Life

## Part One

## The Tuareg in their Private Life

### Chapter I

### Birth. Childhood

In Tamashek, birth is called "tiouit" ⵜ:ⵜ. There is no 844
special observance to note concerning the birth of a child
among the Tuareg. However, there is greater joy if it is a [842]
boy. People come to congratulate the parents and, seven days 851
later, the latter serve a more or less lavish feast, depending
on their means, the feast being preceded by the recitation of
the "fatiha" (first sura of the Koran). Those present who do [788]
not know Arabic limit themselves during this recitation to
holding their open hands together like a book. It is on this [533]
day that the child is given its name.

On this subject, I think I should note that especially 551
among the Kel R'ela (a noble tribe of the Ahaggar), many [565]
children were given the names of wild beasts or animals.

Examples of Men's Names

| | |
|---|---|
| Amellal, | addax, meha /?/ |
| Abeggui, | jackal |
| Amayas, | cheetah |
| Akhou, | wild animal |

us that they are the descendants of a woman by the name of 173
Tin Hinane. In the war which brought Azdjer and Ahaggar to 562
arms, the tears of the Imanan women were the deciding factor
in the Ahaggar taking up arms.

As to inheritance, it is known that this is handed down 428
through the woman. It is from his mother that the son holds 562
the right to command and to the collection of the "tioussé,"
or tribute from the "imr'ad," or serfs. Not only is the son [611
noble or serf according as his mother is noble or serf regardless 565]
of the father's status, for "it is the womb that holds the child,"
but he also changes his tribe and becomes a member of his
mother's tribe if she does not belong to the same one as her
husband.

In life, the woman enjoys a freedom of conduct which is 562
not customarily allowed in Moslem countries. [171]

She does not veil her face like Moslem women except [576]
as a sign of respect, when she draws her veil, "ikerhi," over
her face.

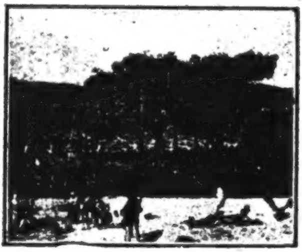
She goes freely to pay visits to her parents, uncles, aunts, [574
etc., and since she sees them seldom because of the distances 431]
between camps, custom decrees that the relative who receives
her visit should make her a present.

She has succeeded in maintaining monogamy, which is [595]
the rule among the Tuareg even though they are Moslems. /12/

Even though married she may have a man friend, "amidi" 562
•V⊐ , who sings her praises and makes verses for her, 572
while she gives him something for his personal use. He is,
in a way, her knight. Thus, although married, Dassine
embroidered for her cousin, Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal
of the Ahaggar, the bridle and breast strap of his horse, while
Moussa, without hesitation, recited before everyone the lines
which he composed in her praise, and often received her visits.

In the absence of her husband she may receive a man [574]
who comes to chat with her and pay her a visit, without the
husband, on his return, dreaming of being annoyed. Only [837
adultery in flagrante delicto can justify the anger of the husband. 593]

262
The nobles eat better, at least those who are well-to-do. 243
In the Ahaggar especially they own cultivated land in the 556 565
"ar'erems" (villages), where they grow wheat, "ired," barley, 423
"timzin," and bechna, "inelli"; but usually they sell their 438
wheat and barley to the natives of the Tidikelt and are content
with bechna, of which they are very fond. They claim that [824]
bechna is less heating to the stomach than wheat or barley.



[137]

Dautheville

Trees Called "Ahatés" (Acacia Albida) at the Tillemas of the Tessht Wadi (Koudia).

The rich allow themselves the luxury of drinking tea, but 272
tea and sugar are very expensive, and they do not misuse them. 556
On the other hand, they do not hesitate to beg for them shamelessly. 263

When the year is bad anything seems good to the poor to 222
assure their subsistence. In such years one sees them eating 262
/30/ "berdi," or "taheli," (Typha angustifolia, Typhaceae); 735 252
ground carob seeds of "talhas," or gum trees, which they call
"tahaha" • ⁝ ⁝ + ; "tanékfaït (Diplotaxis duveyrierana,
Cruciferae); fruit of the "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica),
which they steep to take out the bitterness; and even leaves
of the "aremmas" (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae), which they
boil.

In short, nature keeps food resources for them which prevents even the poorest from dying of hunger.

11. "Djer mouhaden," that is, "between prayers," because it comes between the feasts. It corresponds to Zu'lkadah. 805

12. "Tafaski," that is, "the sacrifice." It corresponds to Zu'lhijjah, in which the feast called "Aïd el Kebir," also [177] called by the Arabs "Aïd el Adha" عيد الأضحى, or "feast of sacrifices," takes place.

There is no book in Tamashek, at least that is what was 177 told me. However, the secretary of the amenokal Moussa 212 /46/ ag Amastane informed me that there was, at the Ahaggar, a book written in the Tamashek language, but with Arabic characters, which was the translation of a work on law of which Ibn Achir was the author (1).

1. This book is at present in the possession of someone called Salakh ag Meguemmed of the Isoqqamaren. /47/

## Part Two

## The Tuareg in their Public Life

## Chapter I

## Nobles and Imr'ad

Duveyrier has described so well the characteristics which 114 distinguish a noble from an amr'id (1) that I think it 565

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1. Les Touareg du Nord /The Northern Tuareg/, pages 331 to 335.

unnecessary to review this matter after him. I want to limit [114]
myself simply to noting some observations which I was able 565
to make in the course of my stay among the Tuareg of the Ahaggar confederation.

First of all, the striking thing is that at the end of a short period of contact, one can easily guess if one is in the presence of a noble or of an amr'id. His look, his walk, his carriage, his features (if the veil is lifted to the forehead), an indefinable something, all lead correctly to the conclusion that the Tuareg before you is really a noble. However, in the course of palavers im'rad, many of whom are rich, often come as well dressed as the nobles. But their features are less fine, their bearing less easy, their look less assured, and one thinks, "This is an amr'id."

Furthermore, the Tuareg will tell you, "An amr'id may /48/ act well, dress in fine clothes, and bear fine arms, but he is still 'iamir'ed,'" that is to say, "he lacks something," [196]
and it is from this verb that they have derived the name amr'id, plural imr'ad.

Should it be thought that the imr'ad are a less pure race 173
than the nobles because of long-ago crossings with the Negro 174
race? The sheik Ben Djellas states that the mother of the 565
Issoqqamaren (an imr'ad tribe of the Ahaggar) was bought by the first inhabitants of Es-Souk. On the other hand, we will see how the Adjouh-n-Taheli and the Tedjehé-n-Efis came from Aïr to place themselves under the protection of the noble Kel R'ela and Taïtoq.

Should the admitted differences be attributed to the state of subjection and dependence in which the imr'ad have been for a long time in relation to the nobles? I would be tempted to accept this second hypothesis as more in line with the facts of history.

And from what I have seen and ascertained, I cannot 565
bring myself to translate the word "amr'id" as "serf," a word 631

which brings to our minds the idea of the serf attached to the 565
glebe and sold with the domain which he cultivated, but rather 631
as "client, bondsman, tributary."

In fact, if the amr'id pays the "tioussé," or tribute, to the noble, if he "lets him taste a little of what he has," according to his expression, if he is dependent on the noble, he nevertheless enjoys a freedom of action which the serf of the Middle Ages did not know. He has a right to the noble's protection if he is attacked, but he marches and fights with him [701]
armed with the same arms. In a raid he also shares with him [727]
and receives his portion of the loot, a portion which varies according to the tribe and which seems to have been fixed according to an ancient contract, in exchange for the protection granted.

And we will find the most convincing proof in the appoint- 565
ment of the amenokal. The imr'ad take part in this: it is 631
they who speak first and state whether they accept the new 643
amenokal, whether they have confidence in him, whether they promise /49/ faithfully to pay him the "tioussé." And he, on his part, promises to give them help and protection against all.

The noble makes it a point of honor to keep this promise. 558
It would be a shame, "el r'ar," according to his expression 565
(from the Arab word "el aâr" العار , not to avenge an insult 577
or an injury rendered to one who pays him the "tioussé." 631

## Chapter II

## The Tobol. Inheritance

Concerning the tobol. The "tobol" originally was a drum 202
made of a large gourd and covered with stretched hide, which 534
the chief of the tribe sounded to gather his clients /dependents/ 643
to tell them that pastures must be changed, etc. It was the 565
insignia of command.

Duveyrier has told us that the Imanan (Cheurfa) sultans 534
entrusted their tobols to a marabout tribe, the Ifor'as-oui-n- 565
Tobol. This practice is maintained: noble chiefs pretend to
keep the tobols with them, but they do not use them any more.

It is said that the nobles have access to the tobols because 534
some day, according to the law of inheritance practiced among 565
the Tuareg, they or their descendants may have the hope of 643
obtaining the tobol, that is, the right to rule.

On the other hand, it is said that a noble has lost his rights [558]
to the tobol if, through a misalliance, his children are no longer of a pure noble line /race/. For example, the Kembiben, the Oulad El Goute, and the Oulad Ibra (among the Kel R'ela of the Ahaggar) can no longer hope to have the right to rule, to the tobol. Similarly, the son of a noble and a "tamr'idt" (feminine /50/ of "amr'id") is an amr'id and loses all right to the tobol which his father had.

From this first meaning, the word "tobol" ended by mean- 534
ing the group of nobles and imr'ad tribes who answered the call 565
of the tobol, and one might, for example, say, "The tobol 631
of the Kel R'ela (a noble tribe) includes such-and-such imr'ad tribes, " or again, "A certain proportion of imr'ad makes up the tobol of the noble Kel R'ela."

The word "tobol" is certainly not of Tamashek origin, but [192]
definitely Arabic. In fact, "tobol" طبل in literary Arabic means: 1) drum, 2) kettledrum, 3) tribute, tax; and in order to say "I do not know who that man is," the early Arabs said, ما ادري اي الطبل هو I do not know of what tobol he is" (1).

1. Arab-French dictionary by
A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski.

Thus I believe that this usage was introduced by the early [174
Arabs who, in the first century after the hegira, pushed their 797]
conquest through the country inhabited by the Tuareg in order to convert them to Islamism.

## Chapter III

## The Amenokal. The Amr'ar

The northern Tuareg, after the downfall of the Imanan 173
sultan, who held absolute rule over them, regained their inde- 631
pendence. Then two confederations were formed: that of the
Azdjer and that of the Ahaggar, each including several noble
tribes. /52/

We will see later ("Origin of the Tuareg" /not translated/) 631
that among the Berbers several tribes often formed a confed- 643
eration under the supreme rule of a single chief and that the
right to rule belonged specifically to certain tribes who held
a kind of supremacy over the others. And this is what we will
find again. Among the Azdjer the tribe that held this kind of
supremacy was that of the Orar'en; among the Ahaggar, it
was that of the Kel R'ela. The amenokal of the Ahaggar was
always chosen from the tobol of the Kel R'ela.

The title of amenokal, although subject primarily to the 643
laws of heredity which we have mentioned, had to be ratified
by the delegates of the nobles of all the tribes and by those of
the imr'ad of all fractions of the confederation. The inheri-
tance must be confirmed by election, and this agrees well
with the democratic spirit of all the Berbers and with all that
is known of their history and of the theories introduced to them
by Kharijism, of which they were adherents.

As we have said, the imr'ad had to speak first, to say if [565]
they would accept the amenokal designated by heredity, and
agree to pay him the "tioussé." The nobles spoke later. The
discussion was open and an agreement was reached. Some-
times it was not reached. We saw an example of this at the
death of the amenokal of the Ahaggar, Aïtar'el ag Biska, in
1900. The law of heredity called Mokhammed ag Ourzig as
amenokal, but the latter, opposed by the imr'ad and the
majority of the nobles, was not elected and saw his rival,
Attici ag Amellal, preferred.

When they want to stretch out at the foot of the tree called "el yatil" in Arabic and "tadjart" ⊕ǀ+ in Tamashek (a kind of acacia), which is inhabited by jinn, they must first wound it with a stone, and stones are always to be found at the foot of these trees. One can also see the wounds made in the bark. 776 824 789

The "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica) is also a haunted tree. If one wants to rest under its shade, it is first necessary to break seven of the tree's thorns.

There are also "kel esouf" in the place where an animal has had its throat cut. 776

Mount Oudane is haunted, as are many others. [823]

These superstitions are probably survivals of their old religion, before their conversion to Islamism. Like them, "The Arabs of the pre-Islamic period worshipped jinn, or genii. The deserts and mountains where one sometimes gets lost for entire weeks are full of beings of this kind.... They can do much harm and much good.... They live in rocks, trees, or statues. Each tribe, or sometimes a group of tribes, had its special jinni; its rock, its tree, its own image, before which an appointed family carried out priestly duties" (1). 174 771 776

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme, by R. Dozy, pages 5 and 6.

The Tuareg have many other superstitions. Thus nobles would never kill a "uran" (varanus), which in Tamashek is called "ar'ata" • + ⁝ , and a fortiori would not eat it. Sidi ag Keradji and Aziouel ag Ser'ada told me that the uran is the maternal uncle of the Tuareg, and Sidi told me the following legend: "Seven nobles had killed a camel belonging to Sidna Nouh (Hoah). Among them there was a noble Tuareg. To punish them God changed them, one into an uran, another into a jackal, a third into a chameleon, etc. /61/ The uran was the noble Tuareg. The camel that was killed is now in the sky: it is the Great Bear. The Polar Star, 'Bel Hadi', is its head." 565 825 773 784 [821]

Should one see here some agreement with what we have 114
read in Dozy, or might the uran have been a "totem" among 825
the Tuareg, as among the Redskins of America?

Nobles do not eat the "dobb" (star lizard) either, which 262
is called "aguezzeram" in Tamashek. As a reason for this 565
abstinence, they quoted me these two lines of nine syllables: 825

Our ekcher' aguezzeram idit [539]
Iladhou ichchaden ilir'it.

This means:

"I do not eat the aguezzeram because it smells bad and has a rough skin" (1).

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1. Iladhou is put instead of "ili adhou." Similarly, ilir'it is put for "ili ir'it." Ir'it, plural ir'ten, means hide (of beef, camel, etc.).

Finally, they firmly refuse to eat chickens and eggs, and
chickens are found nowhere among the Tuareg, except among [231]
some "harratine" /Haratin/ Arabs of the Ahaggar villages.
They claim that this abstinence dates back for a long time.
Aziouel ag Ser'ada when pressed ended by telling me that it
was because chickens seek their food in manure. In the Niger,
according to a study by officer-interpreter Merle, the French
are called egg eaters. But I believe that the following is the 262
real reason for this abstention: The Tuareg, like all the 565
Berbers, had embraced Kharijism. Among the chiefs who took 825 773
part in the insurrection of the Kharwarij /plural of Kharijite. Ed./ was Tarif, who made the first invasion into Spain (the city of Tarifa still bears his name). His son Salih, or Salah, claimed to be a prophet and composed a new Koran. Elijah, or Elias, son of /62/ the latter, openly remained Moslem, and it was only Salih's grandson, Jonah, or Younes, (end of the eighth century), who spread the new doctrine, which was a much modified Islamism. According to one of the precepts of

this doctrine, the scholar Dozy tells us: "There was no muezzin, or crier, to call to prayer; people were governed by the crow of the rooster; so no one, except in case of dire necessity, might kill roosters or hens or eat eggs" (1). 262 565 825 773

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme, by R. Dozy, pages 348 and 349. Neither mosques nor muezzins are found in Tuareg country. See also l'Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionale /History of North Africa/, by E. Mercier, pages 228 and 255. Volume 1. [171]

Legends and stories are also known on the subject of Ahmamellen and his nephew Elias. Hanoteau told them to us. At Tamanrasset (Ahaggar) the Tuareg showed us a curious breech in a large "gara" that bounds the horizon to the east. They call it "Tiouit-n-Elias" (Elias' cut), and they say that Elias made this breech with one stroke of the "takouba." The piece removed, an enormous rock, lodged in a wadi three kilometers from there, and we were shown it in passing. The breech has also been named "Elias' Breech." 773 823

Elias is the Arabic translation of Elijah, and Younes that of Jonah. These two proper names are still used among the Tuareg. Might there not be a relationship between this Elias and Elijah, son of Salih? [551] [174]

The Tuareg say that Ahmamellen was a man of extraordinary size and strength, and that he was the equal of an army. Might it have been Salih himself who claimed to be a prophet, then disappeared in the east after having told his followers that he was the Mahdi and that he would come back to fill the world with justice when the seventh king should be mounted on the throne? 174 773

Many legends circulate about blacksmiths. They say that 326
because they work with iron and fire, they will go into the fire 565
of hell. They are scorned, first because they devote themselves to a manual craft, a disgrace in the eyes of a Tuareg, and secondly because it is said that they are of Negro origin. It is also claimed that they were pagans and that their conversion to Islamism is not sincere. They are also taken for sorcerers. [754]
The sheik Ben Djellas (see the Appendix /not translated/) says of them: "Blacksmiths hate God and his Prophet, and they betray God and his Prophet." Their ancestor was called Tamamenet.

The blacksmith does not belong to any tribe. He goes where he pleases, wherever he finds work. Sometimes he goes to war, and he is said to fight well, but a noble Tuareg will not cross swords with him.

In the Ahaggar a blacksmith is called "mr'allem," variation 326
of the Arab "maâlem." However, there is a word in Tamashek [192]
for him, "inedh," plural "inedhane," but it is not used. /73/

At Tamanrasset I was shown many ancient graves (of the [764]
"chouchat" shape) which, it seems, were the burial places of a tribe of blacksmiths said to have been massacred and died of starvation a very long time ago.

The gardens of the Ahaggar "ar'erems" are worked by the 241
Harratine of the Touat and the Tidilkelt, who bring their tools 312
with them. It is they also who dig the "foggaras," or covered 565
wells, and all the tools that they use come from the Saharan Oases.

## Chapter XII

## Agriculture. Ar'erems

While in all of the Ahnet no trace of agriculture is to be 241
found, however small, because of the scarcity of wells, whose 361
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output is only enough to water the flocks, in the Ahaggar, on the contrary, a mountainous country where there is some water everywhere, a number of small villages called "ar'erem" ⵎⵔⵗ, plural "ir'ermane" ⵏⵎⵔⵗ, have been built.

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Since the Tuareg, nobles or imr'ad, dislike all manual work, these villages could not have been built without the indispensible help of the Harratine of the Touat and the Tidikelt, whom the Tuareg call "Izeggar'en" ⵏⵗⵅⵥ, meaning "mulattoes." Everything was made by the latter: the wells, /74/ "tounine," which are used for irrigation, as at Tazerouk; the "foggaras," or covered wells, "ifelane," and their irrigation canals as at Abalessa, Tit, and Tamanrasset; the fitting up of springs, as at Tadjemout. The Harratine made the gardens and became khammès of the Tuareg, landowners. They settled in these villages and there built huts of "diss" (Imperata cylindrica) or of "berdi" (Typha angustifolia) and little houses of baked earth.

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The Harratine grow wheat, barley, and bechna in these gardens. These are the three essential crops, to which they add some vegetables: onions, kabouyas, or gourds, watermelons, and "guerroum" (a kind of long melon which is eaten green, like a cucumber, before it is ripe). Finally, at Tit they /75/ have planted some fine fig trees and a vine which yields a grape that seems delicious at this latitude. Similarly, at Abalessa, there are some vine slips and a fine palm.

Ideles (Koudia)

The gardens, or rather the fields, are enclosed by a hedge to prevent the depredations of the camels that graze free at night. But there are some that do not have this protective barrier, and the Harratine are forced to stand guard at night, turn, and turn about, lighting fires to drive the camels away from the crops.

175 643 p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have had only very short periods of reign.

[651] Although the Sultan had but little real power he had a high prestige and was very rich. He had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, as mentioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, p. 828f.), and he was also entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade. But the Sultan had under his direct command only the negroid populations of Agadez and the villages of In Gall and Teguidda-n-Tecem. The people of Agadez, said to be members of the religious *Ineslemen* class, have never paid any tribute to the Sultan, whereas he received annual payments from the two villages mentioned. All other people of Air apparently had no fixed economic obligations to the Sultan.

The Sultan had the direct jurisdiction over the negroes under his command. He was the arbitrator and supreme judge in disagreements between the different Tuareg groups to be mentioned below. But he could not meddle in their internal affairs, and rarely was so influential that he could stop the frequent quarrels.

As we have seen the dominant Tuareg group at the establishment of the Sultanry was the Itesen most of whom left the massif long before the arrival of the French. We have also seen that the Kel Geres owing to wars with the Kel Ooui in the 18th century went southwards to the Nigerian borderlands where they became politically independent. In the 19th century the important political groups of the Air Sultanry were the following:–

162 175 The Kel Ooui occupying the eastern and most mountaineous parts of the massif. According to figures given by Nicolas for clans and villages of the Kel Ooui (Nicolas 1950b, p. 465ff.) their total number seems now to be about 8000.

631 The Kel Tamat including the Ikaskazan. The group judged by the figures for some of the clans (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471f.) has about 4000 individuals most of whom originally lived west of the Kel Ooui. Contrary to the two following groups they were placed under the authority of the supreme Kel Ooui chief, the *Anastafidet*.

The Kel Fadei in the region of In Gall. Their total number according to Nicolas is 2341 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474).

The Kel Ferouan comprising clans in the western parts of the massif including the region of Agadez, and also south of the massif towards Damergou. They number about 5000.

175 184 565 The Kel Ooui group was for periods of the past very important politically. But its political system apparently differed from that of other Tuareg groups which may be explained by the fact that a large number of them were settled agriculturists. The other Tuareg groups mentioned, on the contrary, were made up exclusively of pastoralists who roamed in the lower parts of the massif and the adjacent plains. In these groups there were two important classes which seem to have been of little importance among the Kel Ooui. The two classes in literature 175 565 631 are known as "noble Tuareg" *(Imacheŗen* sing. *Amacheŗ)* and "vassal Tuareg" *(Imŗad,* sing. *Amŗid)*. The vassal class in all groups was more numerous than that

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959

MS25 Tuareg MS25

Air

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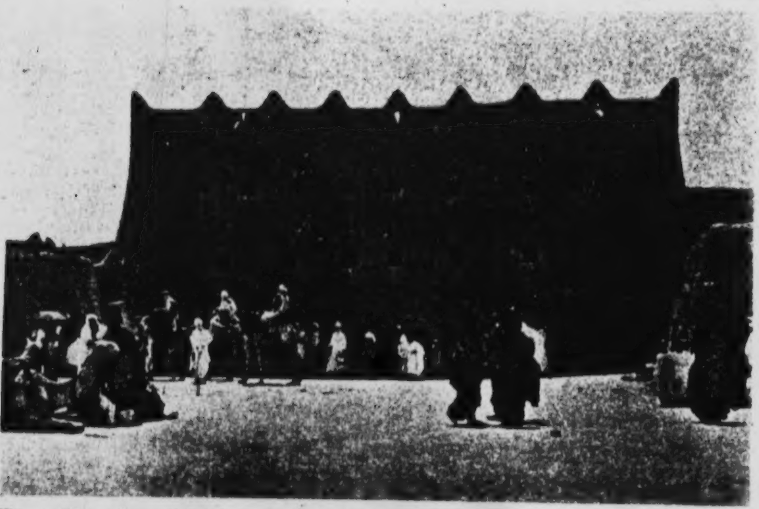

[533] Fig. 4.–The palace of the Sultan of Air at Agadez. – The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour. The drummers beating two drums each and musicians blowing [534] various wind-instruments accompany the Sultan when he leaves his palace. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief (fig. 6). They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

175 565 631 of noble Tuareg from whom the supreme chief of the group was elected. The chief had as his sole insignia a drum named *ettebel,* or *arazou.* The name of the drum *ettebel* was and is still used as the name and title of the chief who is adressed by this very word, and *ettebel* is also used as a name of the group under his command. I therefore use the word "drum-group" for such groups of Tuareg as the Kel Tamat, the Kel Fadei, and the Kel Ferouan, and the word "drum-chief" for their chiefs. There were also in the past smaller drum-groups as for instance the Echchikhen of Damergou to whom I shall refer below.

175 643 The Sultan was elected by the leaders of the Tuareg groups mentioned but they did not all take part in his official instalment. The instalment ceremony is described by Barth as follows:– From his private room in the palace (fig. 4) the Sultan was led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the Itesen and the Kel Geres asked him to sit down upon a bed made from ribs of palm leaves covered with mats, but he was not allowed to lift his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permission was given by the Kel Ooui (Barth 1857, I, p. 461 f.). [114] Jean who gives a more detailed account says that the Kel Geres did not participate, and had no voice of election (Jean 1909, p. 159 ff.). It is noteworthy that the chiefs of such important drum-groups as the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan did not participate in the ceremony, which dates from the time when the Itesen, the Kel Geres, and the

*Agg Elkher*, in his second period of reign. He is very old, and the French consider [75]
his son the actual representative of the group. 634

On the ceremonial installment of a drum-chief in the past I have gathered
conflicting information. People of the noble Kel Ferouan clan claim that the drum-
chief should be installed by a vassal Tuareg of the group, who appointing the chief
would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But there are many vassals
who say that a drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that [643]
in the past when dissatisfied with a drum-chief they would ask permission of the
Sultan to dismiss him. I believe that this latter statement is officially correct, but
it is possible that in the 19th century Kel Ferouan drum-chiefs as the most powerful
chiefs of Air were installed by vassals.

The drum-chief should sanction the election of all chiefs of clans belonging to 614
his group. He should install them ceremoniously providing them with a veil as at 634
his own installation. When a vassal chief was installed in this way he should give
a camel to the drum-chief. At present when the Kel Ferouan drum-chief has little [431]
authority while the Sultan has gained prestige and power, the instalment of a vassal [178]
chief may be undertaken by the Sultan, but this is against traditional rules.

In the past the drum-chief was considered the true owner of the land inhabited 423
by his vassals. The drum-chief, it is said, would allot a particular area to each clan 634
of vassals, but members of a vassal clan were not allowed to defend their territory 565
against other vassals of the same group, as all land belonged to the drum-chief.

The drum-chief had the right to half of the bride-wealth *(taggalt)*, or one camel, 565
from any vassal marriage, and he should receive or inherit a camel at any death 634
among his vassals. These payments seem to have been the true marks of vassalship, 651 [583]
but the vassals had many other obligations towards their drum-chief.

One of the very important functions of the drum-chief was his position as the 634
war-leader of the whole Kel Ferouan group. In battle the noble Kel Ferouan 701
Tuareg with the drum-chief would keep behind the vassals who formed the true
soldiers of the group. The drum-chief would lead the battle and he alone could
decide on war and peace. It was also his right to undertake the division of war-booty 634
for which there were three distinct terms:- 727

1) *Temargedas*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the drum-chief. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g. riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the drum-chief while the other half should be given to the vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that one seventh of the booty should go to the drum-chief.

2) *Tewit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the Kel Ferouan group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the drum-chief would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959

MS25 Tuareg MS25

Air

634 particular case is related of a group of Ioullemmeden Tuareg attacking a camp of
727 Kel Ferouan vassals who made a counterattack and won the battle. They made four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. He kept them there for about a month, then they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

[565] 3) *Ekachchadi,* that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without
[721] the permission of their drum-chief. In this case the drum-chief would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals who were not allowed to engage in warfare on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

The drum-chief had other income from his subjects who paid him an annual
634 fee termed *sadaḳa.* This fee, it is said, was paid not only by vassals but also by noble
651 households of the Kel Azel clan. The sadaḳa fees were collected on behalf of the
565 drum-chief by people of the Echchikhen and by negroid blacksmiths, who form a particular and rather numerous caste. There were definite rules for the payment of sadaḳa. It was computed from the size of herds and flocks of all domestic animals with the exception of donkeys for which no payment was made. As an example can here be mentioned the payments for camel herds:–

| *Size of Herd.* | *Sadaḳa.* |
|---|---|
| 10 camels | 2 goats |
| 15 camels | 3 goats |
| 25 camels | 1 young camel |
| 50 camels | 1 full-grown camel |
| 100 camels | 2 full-grown camels. |

The Echchikhen and the blacksmiths took the sadaḳa animals to the drum-chief. He gave some of them to the collectors who were themselves exempted from taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at the market of Agadez and most of
[735] the proceeds given to poor people by the drum-chief, who would keep a small part for himself.

The drum-chief had the supreme jurisdiction over his group. In all internal
634 matters the drum-chief and not the Sultan was the supreme judge. In difficult
692 cases he would consult Islamic jurists of Agadez or the Echchikhen. All members of the Kel Ferouan group could be fined by the drum-chief and indemnities *(edeiet)* were then given to the chief. In case of murder the killed person's kinsmen
682 had the right of blood-revenge to which the drum-chief could make no objection. R
[696] But if the family of the person killed consented, the drum-chief could take all livestock from the murderer and pass it over to the children of the slain man whose
184 kin in that case lost their right of revenge. Apparently there has never been any
682 fixed size of blood-wealth among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg in contrast to the two groups of Nothern Tuareg and Arab Tribes of The Sahara.

groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara. Punishments for theft 000
are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put 685
into jail in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, [697]
while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at
the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:– pointed sticks were placed under
the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would
die when no longer capable of keeping standing. Punitive measures as imprisonment [177]
and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law and were [681]
in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the Kel [643]
Ferouan was in fact the true master of Air, including the city of Agadez, he may
have made use of the prison as he may have imposed capital punishment on
thieves. But proper theft is very rare among pastoral Tuareg.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe 634
with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his
power as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should [692]
also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also
dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's
normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would not only associate with 565
the vassals on intimate terms, but he would also joke with them. A joking relationship 571
similar to that of cross-cousins and of brothers and sisters-in-law, including
sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals
of the Kel Ferouan group. They would joke with each other unless there were a
great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal it is said that the drum-chief
could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". I have [634]
already referred to the theory that the social function of joking between cross-cousins
and in-laws seems to be the prevention of conflicts. The function of joking
between people of different classes is similar, and this should be the more emphasized
as this very explanation has frequently been given me by the Tuareg. "People who
are different tease each other to prevent troubles", they say. For this very reason
there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members
of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same
drum-group. Thus there would be no joking between vassals of the Kel Ferouan
group and noble Tuareg of the Kel Fadei. In this latter case there would be
avoidance or strict reserve.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals would not take place 582
in the past. This is not entirely true, but they seem to have been rare. I think that 607
one reason for this may be due to the fact that marriages between noble Tuareg and [565]
their vassals would tend to break down the structure of the political system. By
such marriages the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great
many relatives-in-law to whom the conduct would be avoidance or institutionally
constant joking. For in addition to true in-laws there are numerous classificatory 607
in-laws. Thus a man (or a woman) has all spouses of his brothers and sisters and

Air

607 of his parallel cousins and cross-cousins as his brothers-in-law *(alegges,* pl. *ilousan),*
[601] or sisters-in-law *(taleggest,* pl. *tilousin),* while the spouses of descendants of all
brothers, sisters, and cousins will be his sons-in-law *(aḍeggal,* pl. *iḍoulan),* or
[606] daughters-in-law *(taḍeggalt,* pl. *teḍoulin).* These terms are always used reciprocally,
and parents-in-law and children-in-law will avoid each other accordingly.

Apparently most vassal clans were faithful to their drum-chief and recognized
634 his authority. But Tuareg pastoralists led a turbulent and warlike life, and the
614 members of certain noble clans, or clans listed as vassals but probably of noble
565 origin, would not accept the leadership of the drum-chief although they belonged
to his group. Thus there were many quarrels with the noble Kel Azel Tuareg. It is
[687] said that in the past the drum-chief more than once punished them very severely
not only taking all their livestock but also burning down their camps.

The three clans of Kel Tedale in Northern Air were only nominally part of the
634 Kel Ferouan drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the
614 Kel Tedale paid no tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief or to chiefs of other
drum-groups in Air (Joubert 1939, p. 246). The political independence of the Kel
565 Tedale is also stated by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg
114 claim the Kel Tedale to be true vassals of their drum-chief, and both Jean and
Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104. – Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd
thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three clans
the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427) The Kel
Tedale Tuareg I met all emphasized their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation
was verified by Kel Ferouan vassals who said that both noble and vassal Tuareg
are found among the Kel Tedale. That some of them are noble by origin seems
to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the Kel Tedale in part are related
to the Ihaḍanaren clan of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter
clan is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

The Kel Tedale were so numerous, so rich in camels, and lived so remote from
634 the rest of the Kel Ferouan clans that the drum-chief could not maintain his power
614 over them. The drum-chief also had trouble with another clan of his group, the
565 Kel Akarra. This clan is said to have been originally of noble status and to have
had as its particular vassals the clan of Ibararochchiten. The drum-chief assisted by
[558] vassals of the whole group in the past imposed vassalship upon the Kel Akarra, who
however refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-
chief three times made war against the Kel Akarra to bring them to submission
and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-
wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the Kel
Akarra clan became small and insignificant.

A certain discord reigned within the Kel Ferouan group, but the drum-chief
[669] had the support of most clans of vassals who at his order would fight not only foreign
Tuareg groups but also quell internal insurrections.

634 vassal clan as its particular vassals. A few vassal clans were also attached to the
565 noble clan Kel Azel. I must admit however that I have not been able to gather
very precise information about the relations between the Kel Azel and their vassal
clans which were the following: Ijakarkaren, Imezzouren, Ikaoukan, Iforas, and
Ikochechiten (a section of the Immezzilalen). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg say
that these clans lived close to the Kel Azel to protect the latter clan, but they may
also have had other obligations. For the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg also had con-
[463] stantly a few clans of vassals living close to them, and two of these (Iberdianen and
Irobouren) are said to have carried out such work which could not be done properly
[701] by black-skinned slaves, while one clan (Igendianen) acted as permanent soldiers
and protectors.

Rodd has some very interesting remarks on the position of the vassals *(Imghad)*
114 as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:– "One of the functions
565 of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for
614 long periods or to trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as
the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a
whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on
the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the
[422] camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals
dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible
[672] for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances." (Rodd 1926a, p.
141 f.). Rodd however also refers to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen
[567] both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own
information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to
by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been
able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the camel-herds-
men of the noble Tuareg, nor have I found any tradition of original cultural
distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, although I have inquired much
about this.

Rodd divides the vassal clan into three groups according to their origin.
174 1) Vassals who were attached to noble clans already before the immigration to Air
565 from the north; 2) Vassals whose ancestors lived in Air before the immigration of
614 noble clans; 3) Vassals who have been subdued in fairly recent wars (Rodd 1926a,
p. 138). The vassal clans of Air unfortunately have very little traditional knowledge
about their origin, but at least some of them will claim that they came from the
north as did all noble Tuareg. It is very probable that the noble Tuareg already
before their immigration had vassal clans attached to them as it is claimed by the
noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg. In other words: the political system of the Kel Ferouan
Tuareg cannot be understood in complete isolation from political systems of the
Northern Tuareg groups of Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where the Air Tuareg
have emigrated.

### *The Federation of Ahaggar Tuareg*

(Size of clans according to Lhote 1955, p. 225 ff. from statistics of 1949)

162.
631
614
565 ●
582

| | Noble Clans | Vassal Clans | Iseḳḳemaren Clans |
|---|---|---|---|
| *The Kel Ṛela Drum-Group* | *Kel Ṛela* 275<br>To-day many of them live in Tamesna. They intermarry with other noble clans, with the Ifoṛas group, and sometimes with Arabs and their own vassal clans. But women of pure noble stock will not generally be allowed to marry vassal men. The Kel Ṛela women, like noble women of the Oraṛen (Tassili-n-Ajjer) and Kel Ferouan (Air), do not associate freely with people of other classes. | *Dag Ṛali* 386<br>*Ait Loaien* 400<br>*Ag̣ouh-en-Tehele* 585<br>*Ṛelaiddin* 40<br>*Iklan-en-Taousit* 500<br>*Ibettenaten* 129<br>*Ireg̣enaten* 435<br>These two clans are not true vassals by origin. The Ibettenaten is said formerly to have had noble status and the Ireg̣enaten descend matrilineally from the Ibettenaten, patrilineally from Arabs. | *Ihaiaouen Hada* 253<br>*Kel Inṛer* 176<br>*Kel Tafedest* 61<br>*Kel Immidir* 179<br>*Kel Taẓoulet* 158<br>The Iseḳḳemaren clans descend from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women or are Arabs who have become assimilated by the Tuareg. They are said formerly to have been the vassals of the noble Kel Ehan Mellen clan. The powerful Arab tribe of Tidikelt, the Ouled Ba Hamou, claims that they were originally their vassals. |
| *The Taitoḳ Drum-Group* | *Taitoḳ* 33<br>There are hardly any Tuareg of pure Taitoḳ stock left in Ahaggar to-day. They are now in Tamesna together with their chief Mohamed ag Mohamed who possesses the drum. During a visit to Ahaggar 1934 he received as a gift 14 or 15 camels from his vassals still living in that region. Many vassals of the Taitoḳ drum-group also now live in Tamesna. The Taitoḳ and their vassals will frequently intermarry, and such mixed marriages were also quite common in the past. | *Kel Ahnet* 127<br>*Iouarouaren* 47<br>*Teg̣ehe-n-Efis* 127<br>*Ikoutisen* 84<br>*Ikechchemaḍen*<br>(now mixed with the Dag Ṛali clan of the Kel Ṛela drum-group).<br>*Iṛechchoumen* – a clan patrilineally related to the noble Taitoḳ, matrilineally to the vassal clan of Kel Ahnet. In 1938 it comprised about 10 tents and 60 individuals. | *Kel I-n-Tounin*<br>(about 20 tents in 1938). |

162
565
614
631

| | Noble Clans | | Vassal Clans | Iseḳḳemaren Clans | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *The Tegehe-Mellet Drum-Group* | *Tegehe Mellet* | 33 | *Kel Terha* (part of the Ait Loaien clan of the Kel Ṛela drum-group). | *Kel Terourit*<br>*Kel Ouhet* | 69<br>70 |
| *Noble Clans Without Vassals* | *Kel Ehan Mellen* | | The Iseḳḳemaren clans are said formerly to have been vassals of this clan. | | |
| | *Ikadeien* | | Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tit. | | |

### *The Kel Ṛela Drum-Group in Ahaggar.*

[161] The Ahaggar Tuareg according to statistics from 1950 number 4,611 individuals
565 (Lhote 1955, p. 157) and comprise 26 clans. In addition to the noble class termed
*Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*), and the vassal class termed *Imγad*, (sing. *Amγid*) or *Kel*
614 *Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), there is also a class termed *Iseḳḳemaren* (sing. *Aseḳḳemar*), who
can be considered vassals of a somewhat different status. The religious class *Ineslemen*
(sing. *Aneslem*) is in Ahaggar represented by a few families without clan organization.

614 There are five noble clans but only three of them have vassals. There are in
565 other words three drum-groups *(eṭṭebel*, pl. *eṭṭebelen)*, namely those of Kel Ṛela,
634 Taitoḳ, and Tegehe Mellet. The Kel Ṛela group is by far the most important, and
its chief with the title of Amenokal is the supreme head of all three groups which
643 constitute a sort of federation named *tegehe*. In rare cases when the Tuareg of
Ahaggar joined forces against foreign Tuareg groups, e.g. the Tuareg of Tassili-n-
[701] Ajjer, the Amenokal was the war-leader of all three drum-groups. But in the past
he had often little authority over the two other drum-groups. For long periods of
the 19th century he had severe troubles with the Taitok, who had acquired a
practically independent position, and it seems as if he had no rights over the land
inhabited by the Taitoḳ drum-group. The Amenokal as well as the two other
drum-chiefs *(Amγar*, pl. *Imγaren)* were elected by the vassals of their respective
[565] drum-groups. It is true that the members of the noble clan had a certain influence,
but – contrary to former opinions on the matter – they did not have any direct voice
[614] in elections. The Amenokal was and is ceremoniously installed by a Tuareg of the
Iseḳḳemaren class who provides him with a new veil or turban. The two other
634 drum-chiefs should be installed in this way by the Amenokal, who also undertook
the installation of all vassal chiefs within his own drum-group. The installment of
vassal chiefs within the two other drum-groups were undertaken by their respective
drum-chiefs. In the present chapter I shall describe the drum-group of the Kel
Ṛela in some detail.

[Text continues on p. 104]

The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot generally trace the exact genealogical relationship 614
between all members of a clan termed *taousit* as it is in Air. The noble Kel Ṛela
(275 individuals) claim descent from a common ancestress named Kella, who lived [162]
seven generations ago. The Dag Ṛali (386), one of the vassal clans, seems to consist [565]
of two matrilineages of seven generations each. The two matrilineages are said to
be related to each other, but their exact relationship is unknown. The very numer- 613
ous vassal clan Aġouh-en-Tehele (585) falls into three sub-clans claiming common 614
matrilineal descent. One of these sub-clans, the Isandan, is identical with a ma-
trilineage of six generations, whereto is grafted a smaller matrilineage of four
generations related to the Ibettenaten clan.

Briggs has recently stated that previous authors have attached too much 114
importance to Tuareg matriarchy (Briggs 1958, p. 87), and I agree with his 611
statement. The fact that the Tuareg in important cases acknowledge the matrilineal
principle has veiled the other fact that they have patrilineal rules, which are
probably genuine to Tuareg social structure. But it must be admitted that influence [177]
from Islam and the Arabs makes the study of traditional social structure difficult.

The Tuareg of Ahaggar – like those of Air – have terms which in meaning are 611
identical with matrilineage (*tesa* = "the stomach") and patrilineage (*arouri* = "the
back"). They follow the matrilineal principle in specific cases, the patrilineal in
others, while for rules of residence both principles are acknowledged as will be [591]
described below. Traditionally the matrilineal principle is valid for:– 1) succession
to chieftainship, 2) succession to land rights, 3) succession to property considered [428]
indivisible, 4) in noble clans it is valid for succession to rights and obligations [631]
towards vassals, and in vassal clans for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg.

Islamic rules are valid for inheritance of individually owned property. Children 428
inherit what is left by their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice
as big as that allotted to a daughter. A man cannot inherit the property individually
owned by his mother's brother, whom he can succeed in the above mentioned
respects, whereas he can inherit from more distant patrilineal kinsmen. The
acknowledgement of the paternal line for inheritance is expressed in the general
rule that any person adopts his father's camel-brand and earmarks for other [422]
domestic animals. This rule may be pre-Islamic. It may also be a pre-Islamic trait [174]
that most Tuareg have much better knowledge of their patrilineage than of their
matrilineage.

Clans are predominantly endogamous, but there are marriages between people 614
of different clans, and we can adequately use such unions to illustrate the rather
complicated rule of residence:– A man will live together with his father in the
territory of his clan as long as his father is alive, while after his father's death he 591
will take up residence in the territory of his mother's clan, to which he himself 768
belongs, and camp there together with his matrilineal kinsmen. A single death may
in fact give rise to the change of territory and camp of a great many people, as is
illustrated in fig. 10.

*Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Aǧouh-en-Tehele Clan.*

(The clan is divided into three sub-clans named Kel Tarhaouhaout, Isandan, and Kel Rafia).

621
427.
614
233
651
224
423.

| Tenants | Value of Sub-Area | Annual Land-Rent to the Amenokal |
|---|---|---|
| SAMA-ALATOKH, Chief of the Aǧouh-en-Tehele, Chief of the sub-clan Kel Tarhaouhaout, Leader of the section named Kel Tôûlet. | Cultivation grounds at Tarhaouhaout and In Daledge.<br>Hunting of barbary sheep.<br>Wild donkeys for domestication. | 2 donkeys |
| OMANA, Khalifa of the Ikenkaren section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. | Hunting of barbary sheep. Collecting of wild seeds. | 3 goats |
| ABERGIALI, Khalifa of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. | Hunting of barbary sheep. | 2 goats |
| KHOFA of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. No position as leader. | Cultivation grounds at Inagrioucl and In Deledje. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys. | 2 donkeys |
| DEINI, Chief of the Kel Rafia sub-clan. | No particular value. | No land-rent. |
| AKAOUALI, Chief of the Isandan sub-clan, Leader of the Kel Afrahaouhine section. | Cultivation grounds at Tahifet.<br>Hunting of barbary sheep.<br>Wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| HANOU, Khalifa of the Kel Aserman section of the Isandan sub-clan. | Cultivation grounds at Tamanrasset.<br>In the past wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| KHOSENI, Khalifa of the Relaiddin now attached to the Aǧouh-en-Tehele clan. | Khoseni is in command of this area to which all members of the Relaiddin have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the Amenokal. | |

clans. There are in Ahaggar as in Air joking relationships between Tuareg of 000 565 614 different classes, but the two vassal clans considered the oldest in the Kel Ṛela drum-group, the Dag Ṛali and the Ait Loaien, will never joke with people of other classes. Other vassal clans and in particular the Aǧouh-en-Tehele have joking with noble clans and also with clans of the Iseḳḳemaren class. Between the Aǧouh-en-Tehele and the Iseḳḳemaren clans a fixed rule of gift-exchange is observed when [431] they visit each other. When the Aǧouh-en-Tehele pouple come to the Iseḳḳemaren they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the Iseḳḳemaren visiting the Aǧouh-en-Tehele. It should be noted in this context that relatives who practise [602] joking and avoidance frequently exchange gifts although in such cases there are no fixed rules for the kind of objects given.

[Text continues on p. 110]

scale raiding. He would discuss all important matters with vassal chiefs and with 643
his noble deputies known as *Khalifas*. At present the Amenokal has three Khalifas
two of whom live in his own camp, while the third is his representative in Tamesna, [645]
where many Tuareg of his drum-group live.

The Amenokal never had the right to part of the bride-wealth from marriages
among his vassals, nor did he receive a camel at the death of a vassal as was cust- [583]
omary for the drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan in Air. The Amenokal still has the [651]
right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief within his drum-group, but it [428]
should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal clan, the Dag
Ṛali, has the right to one of the Amenokal's riding camels on the latter's death.

As the representative of the Kel Ṛela drum-group the Amenokal is in certain cases 428
entitled to property owned individually by his subjects. When a person dies without 643
children or paternal kinsmen, his fortune is divided into six parts one part of which
goes to his mother (or his mother's mother) while the remaining five parts are given
to the Amenokal. In case the deceased person has no mother or mother's mother
alive, the whole fortune of livestock is taken over by the Amenokal. He, however,
will not himself make any use of the animals, but will leave them in the clan to [614]
which the deceased person belonged. They will there be under the supervision of [422]
the clan chief, who also has usufructs of them. Animals taken over by the Amenokal
in this way are known as *ehere oua n ettebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group"), or
*ehere oua n boutelma* ("the fortune of the public").

The vassal clans of the Kel Ṛela drum-group pay an annual tribute known as
*tiouse* to the Amenokal. The size of this payment varies from one clan to another. 643
It is normally collected by the clan chiefs who send it to the Amenokal, but the 614
three subclans of the Aġouh-en-Tehele pay their tiouse separately as follows:- 651
1) The Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan: 600 kg of millet and, when grazing is good,
5 goats and 15 kg of butter. The man who brings this payment to the Amenokal is
rewarded with a gift of 15 metres of cotton. 2) The Isandan sub-clan: 300 kg of
millet and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kg of butter. The man who brings
this receives a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. 3) The Kel Rafsa sub-clan: Like the
payments from the Isandan.

The whole Dag Ṛali clan pays its tiouse as follows:- 12 bags of millet corres-
ponding to 6 camel-loads are given to the clan chief, who will send 10 bags to the
Amenokal, and keep two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole clan gives
10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the Amenokal.

One vassal clan, the Ait Loaien, does not make its tiouse payment to the Amen- 565 ●
okal but to a Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Emoṛi section of the Kel Ṛela. According 614
to Lhote a certain family among the Dag Ṛali makes an annual payment to a noble 643
Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Tahat section (Lhote 1955, p. 224). It is in fact possible 651
that the Amenokal nowadays receives tiouse payments which ought to be made to
other noble Tuareg. This I imply from the information from a man who told me
that the Isandan sub-clan according to traditional rules should pay tiouse to a

565 Tuareg of the Iboglan section of the Kel Ṛela clan, but as he now lives outside of
614 Ahaggar the payment is made to the Amenokal.

643 In the past certain vassal clans or matrilineages of clans paid their tiouse to
651 noble Kel Ṛela Tuareg other than the Amenokal, while apparently other clans or lineages gave tiouse both to the Amenokal and to other Tuareg of the Kel Ṛela clan. But according to my investigations this did not apply to vassals of the Iseḳḳemaren class, who should pay tiouse to the Amenokal only. Duveyrier states that three Kel Ṛela sections (the Iboglan, the Inemba Kel Tahat, and the Inemba Kel Emoṛi) each had their particular vassals constituting clans or parts of clans (Duveyrier 1864, p. 375 ff.). Benhazera gives a more detailed account of relations between noble and vassal Tuareg. According to him most vassal clans paid tiouse to the Amenokal, but some clans or parts of them also gave this tribute to other noble Tuareg. And apparently there might within one and the same noble section be several Tuareg who had their individual vassals from whom they received tiouse payments (Benhazera 1908, p. 139 ff.).

643 Whole groups of Tuareg outside of Ahaggar also paid an annual tribute known
as tiouse to the Amenokal or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order
651 to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. Thus the Adraṛ-n-Ifoṛas Tuareg (the
579 Kel Adraṛ) gave a skin tent and a camel annually to the Amenokal, but in spite of such annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided. If foreign Tuareg paying tiouse to the Amenokal were raided by people of Ahaggar, the Amenokal, according to Foucauld, had the right to a tribute named *ennehet*, about one third of the booty taken, to be paid him by all raiders whether noble or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the Amenokal's drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the Amenokal to whom they paid tiouse for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347 f.).

The tiouse paid to the Amenokal and other noble Tuareg by their vassals was
565 also made in order that they should not be attacked or exploited by other Tuareg.
614 But the relation (*temaẓlait* literally meaning "the root of the nail") between vassals
651 and individual noble Tuareg had also an economic function, and was apparently of great value to both noble and vassal Tuareg. To make this clear I shall now briefly return to ecology.

233 In Ahaggar camels and goats are extremely complementary to one another.
511 The camel supplies the Tuareg with milk, but with very few other products. And
the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-camels which yield very little
[234] when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important for food,
[262] but it is not well fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels
are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar
[574] Tuareg will kill camels to utilize their meat only when many people come together,
[281] as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft,
[237] as tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only
for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects.

for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the 233
camels have little direct economic value. But in raids of the past camels were very 511
valuable riding animals, and they were then as now extremely important for caravan [492]
trading, which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food. [439]

The economic role of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very
comprehensive part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is [234]
also made into butter and cheese which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior
to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly [262]
by the members of a normal household. Furthermore goats are very important in
Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and [281]
solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also [291]
employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes [283]
with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like.

Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays as in the past base their economy mainly on camels and goats. I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats, their vegetable food from caravan trading by camels.

Formerly the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, [422]
which were owned exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years [565]
ago the vassals had no camels, but he does not mention his source of information
(Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). But it is confirmed by many Tuareg that through- [114]
out the 19th century the vassals had not many camels, while they were rich in goats
of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg
by vassals. As mentioned, goats and butter form part of the tiouse payments to 565
the Amenokal, and were also an important part of the tiouse paid to other noble 651
Tuareg of the Kel Ṛela. But the noble Tuareg who were masters of the small [421]
temażlait-units within the drum-group could apparently claim practically whatever
they wanted from their vassals. The noble Tuareg, Duveyrier says, in reality had
all rights over their vassals' property. But they were themselves interested in
having rich vassals, and would not discourage them by claiming too much. When
in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take animals from their
vassals. The vassals had also an obligation to feed their noble lords, who at certain
times would camp among them (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). This is also stated by
Benhazera, but he claims that the vassals would not necessarily give everything
demanded by noble Tuareg (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The noble Tuareg of to-day
have not ceased to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble
Tuareg frequently ask gifts from their vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who [431]
temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they acquire part of their food.
Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals
when milk-yielding stops, and this is considered an old privilege of the nobility.

565 651 The noble Tuareg may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance, to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals; this was also practiced in the past. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals. The [178] vassals may refuse any gift or service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are even noble Tuareg who wear amulettes which are believed to induce vassals to [789] give the things wanted.

565 It is evident that it was very profitable for noble Tuareg to have vassals, but these had also many advantages from their relation to noble masters. The nobility [721] formed a particular class of warriors and raiders who were constantly roaming the country looking for enemies. They protected the caravan roads, and allowed the vassals to use their camels on trading expeditions. The noble Tuareg would also [422] leave a surplus of their livestock among the vassals who had usufructs of these animals.

The master of a temażlait-relation might ask his vassals to follow him on raids, but he could not summon them for warfare. This right belonged exclusively to the [643] Amenokal, who would also receive *abellag* or half of the booty taken by all vassals [727] of his drum-group. It is interesting to note, however, that if vassals borrowed for [426] raiding riding camels from their noble masters, the latter received a tribute also known as *abellag*, comprising half of the booty left when one half had already been given to the Amenokal. The temażlait-masters were apparently without any judicial [692] authority, which rested in the hands of the Amenokal. We may say that the smaller units within the drum-group – the temażlait-relations – were predominantly economic units, but structurally they had traits in common with the political unit, the drum-group.

## *The Origin of Tuareg Political Systems.*

565 192 This concluding chapter on the origin of Tuareg political systems can adequately open with an analysis of the terms for the classes here referred to as noble and vassal Tuareg.

In Air as well as in other Southern Tuareg groups all Tuareg whatever their social status, are sometimes known as *Imacheṛen* (sing. *Amacheṛ*), but correctly this word should be used only for Tuareg of the noble class. Nicolas says that the word refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188f.). In Northern Tuareg dialect the equivalent word is *Imohaṛ* (sing. *Amahaṛ*). It is used for both noble and vassal Tuareg, and is probably derived from the verb *aheṛ* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318. – Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 665–674. – Prasse 1959, p. 200). Among the Northern Tuareg it may originally have been used for "noble Tuareg", who nowadays both in Ahaggar and in Tassili-n-Ajjer are known as *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*). It is very possible that this latter word is identical with *Hoouara* – a common name for several Berber tribes

Ahaggar
Air

dominating an extensive area of North Africa and particularly in Cyrenaica, 565
Tripolitania, and adjacent regions before the Arab invasion of the 11th century 192
A.D. This theory was set forth already by Ibn Khaldoun, who says that *Hoouara* has changed into *Heggar* (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275f.). Nicolas has stated as his opinion that this theory has no other foundation but mere speculation (Nicolas [114] 1953, p. 14). This, however, is not correct as the relationship between the words can be explained on linguistic grounds as claimed by Foucauld. For the letter *ou* [194] when redoubled will as a rule change into *gg*, and *ou* very frequently permutes with *g* (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533).

The term used in Air for vassal Tuareg is *Imɣad* (sing. *Amɣid*), a word which seems to be known to all Tuareg. Foucauld gives no particular explanation of its meaning (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1233f.). Nicolas claims the word related to *eɣeid*, literally meaning "a kid" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189). If this explanation given by Nicolas is correct, *Imɣad* refers to goat-breeding. So does another term for vassals used more frequently among the Northern Tuareg and the Ioullemmeden, namely *Kel Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), which means literally "the goat people". In Air this word is never used as a term for the vassal class, but only as a proper name for one particular vassal clan attached to the Ikaskazan.

One of the terms for vassals and maybe both terms are thus connected with goat-breeding, while one of the terms for noble Tuareg seems to refer to raiding, [233 which among the Tuareg was intimately connected with camel-breeding. Camels were not only the means by which raiding was carried out, but they were also the 721] main object of raiding expeditions as they could be abducted very quickly from foreign camps. So we may perhaps see from some of the terms used for vassal and noble Tuareg that the two classes originated from the meeting of two distinct [174] cultures, a goat-breeding and a camel-breeding culture. And we have already seen that in the past the noble Tuareg of Ahaggar were in particular camel-breeders, the vassals breeders of goats and donkeys. [233]

The Ahaggar Tuareg – in contrast to the Tuareg of Air – have traditions about 173
the origin of the class system. References to these traditions are common in literature (Benhazera 1908, p. 89ff. – Reygasse 1950, p. 88. – Foucauld 1951 – 52, 565
II, p. 533ff. – Lhote 1955, p. 213ff. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 99f.). There are in fact two conflicting traditions, but some Tuareg will nevertheless acknowledge both. It seems, however, as if one tradition had its origin among the nobility, the other among vassals. The tradition which originated in the noble class says that the dominant noble clans of Ahaggar had a woman named Ti-n-Hinan as their ancestress. She immigrated to Ahaggar from Tafilelt in Morocco together with her servant girl named Takama, who became the ancestress of the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien). The two women were both Islamic and belonged to the Beraber tribes. They found the country uninhabited except for the higher parts of the massif, where a pagan people named the Isebeten lived. This tradition

5:Nicolaisen E-4,5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Aggar

173 is recognized by many vassal Tuareg, but they claim their ancestress Takama to
565 be Ti-n-Hinan's younger sister and not her servant.

The other tradition, told mainly among vassals, claims that the oldest inhabitants of Ahaggar were the Isebeten just mentioned. They were goat-breeders and hunters in the mountains, and also bred donkeys. Some Tuareg say that the Isebeten had no tents, but lived in mountain caves. From these pagan Berber-speaking people descend the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Ṛali and the Ait Loaien). The noble clans came to the country at a much later date. They introduced the camel which made them masters of the country. They conquered the Isebeten, and made them their vassals.

[114] I agree with Foucauld, quoted above, that the latter tradition may contain an important element of historical truth. It explains the origin of vassalship in a logical way, and is in agreement with our linguistic analysis and the fact that vassals in the past were mainly goat-breeders who had no right to possess camels.

184 565 492 [234] Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals although they may be rich in camels will ascribe much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble Tuareg will use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, while such saddles are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women will not generally mount camels but donkeys which are never mounted by noble women.

184 565 [583] Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:– 1) In noble clans bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal clans one to three camels which may be substituted with goats. Among vassals of Tassili-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. 2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas [422] true vassals use earmarks for donkeys as for goats. Though in one vassal clan, the Dag Ṛali, donkeys are marked in both ways. 3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. 4) The noble [342] Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post – that is a post on the top of which is placed a very short crossbar to support the sheet of skins sewn together. Although such posts may occasionally be used in vassal tents, they are said to be specific to the tents used by noble Tuareg.

[614] [173] These characteristics of noble Tuareg in Ahaggar are found also in the camel-breeding clan Iregenaten of Tamesna. This clan is said to descend from mixed marriages between Tuareg women of the Ibettenaten clan, said to be of noble origin, and Arab men. This is stated in literature (Lhote 1955, p. 238f. – Briggs 1958, p. 100) and confirmed to me by Iregenaten Tuareg met in Air.

342 184 Various sub-types of Tuareg skin tents with T-shaped posts are frequently referred to in literature on the Northern Tuareg (Feilberg 1944, p. 139ff. – Lhote

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959

MS25 Tuareg MS25

Ahaggar
Air

342

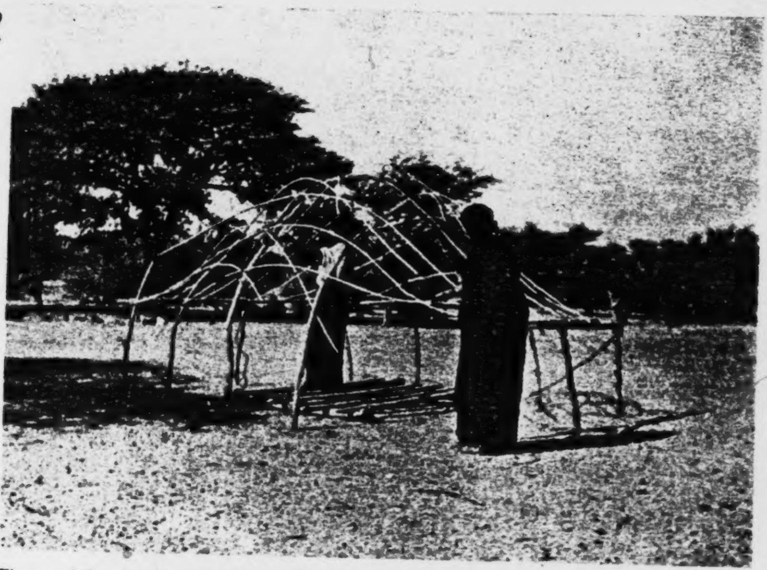

Fig. 13.–Tuareg women of Air erecting the skeleton of a mat-covered arched tent. It consists of three wooden arches placed parallel to and between a pair of three short sticks supporting a horizontal crossbar. Curved sticks cover the upper part of this construction. They are fastened to the arches and at their ends to the horizontal crossbars. Tuareg skin tents with the exception of those provided with T-shaped posts have possibly developed from similar constructions. – The erection of tents among the Tuareg is done by women.

171 *the Toucouleurs:* Urvoy 1952, pl. II, 4. – Desplagnes 1907, pl. CVI p. 396. – *The*
342 *Teda or Tebu:*– Le Coeur 1937, p. 39; 1950, p. 192, pl. XXVI, 99. – Despois 1946, pl. XXII. – Kronenberg 1959, pl. III).

342 Tuareg arched tents may also be covered with skin as they are among the Tengueregif Tuareg around Timbuktu. These Tuareg have a very peculiar arch construction which also contains crossbars resting on sticks (Lhote 1947, p. 100, photographs 85–93). In Ahaggar arched tents were formerly extremely common, and may occasionally be seen even nowadays. Their construction consists of two arches which may be placed between and parallel to a pair of crossbars each resting on the tops of two sticks (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247. – Benhazera 1908, p. 26. – Lhote 1947, p. 42f.; 1955, p. 256. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 89, 103f.). In Ahaggar I
●[565] have been told that arched skin tents were formerly used by all vassals, who did not have T-shaped posts to support their tents. But arched tents were also used by some noble Tuareg. The mat-covered arched tents among certain Ioullemmeden Tuareg are apparently used particularly by vassals (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372f. – Gabus 1948, p. 361), but they are also in frequent use among noble Tuareg. In Air the most common type of dwelling to all Tuareg whatever their social class is the

Air
Ahaggar

342.

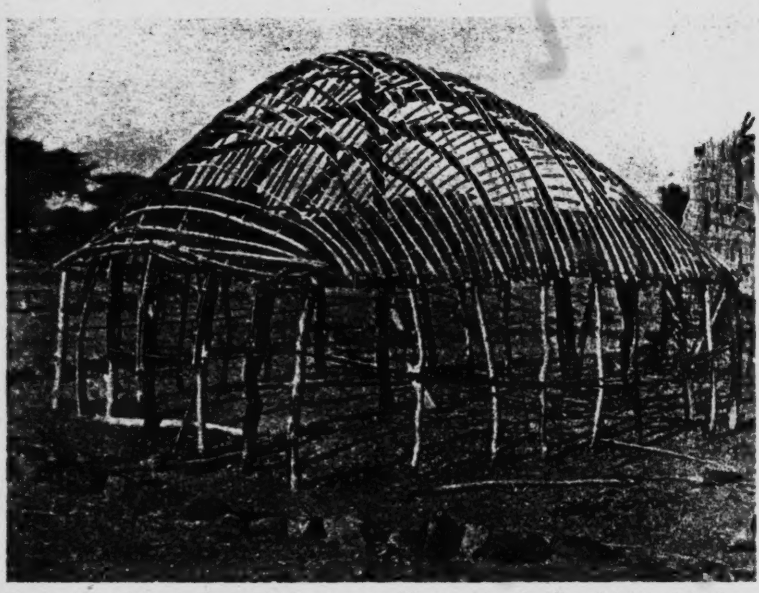

Fig. 14.–The skeleton of an arched mat-covered hut constructionally related to that shown fig. 13 but more elaborately and solidly built. The arches are made from lashed bundles of very slender sticks fastened to short poles embedded in the ground as is the heavy central post supporting the whole construction. – This type of hut is used among settled agriculturists of the Air villages, and is due to influence from pastoral Tuareg.

arched mat-covered tent, and the noble Kel Ferouan claim that they have never
used any other type. The Western Ioullemmeden (Kel Ataram) use a skin tent 184
consisting of three or four parallel pairs of posts each pair being connected with a 342
horizontal crossbar (Lhote 1947, p. 85f., photographs 59–64). Gabus claims this dwelling as typical of the noble Tuareg (Gabus 1945, p. 15). I think that most probably it developed from a dwelling constructionally related to the arched mat-covered tent like that of Air. The common type of skin tent nowadays used in Ahaggar and Adṛaṛ-n-Ifoṛas is of a somewhat related type (Lhote 1947, p. 42f., photographs 7–8, 11–13, 20–21.; 1955, p. 254ff. – Foley 1930, p. 12f., pl. IV, 6–7. – Briggs 1958, p. 92, fig. 36. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 103). It is apparently not possible
to refer Tuareg arched tents exclusively to vassals, and it should be noted that in [565] ●
Tassili-n-Ajjer the dwelling typical of the vassal class is a straw hut constructionally related to a round house with conical roof (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 89, 94).

Finally I shall now return to our main problem, namely the history of Tuareg 174
political systems. We have explained their origin from the meeting of two distinct
cultures, and we have seen that in the past the noble class was connected with 233

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417

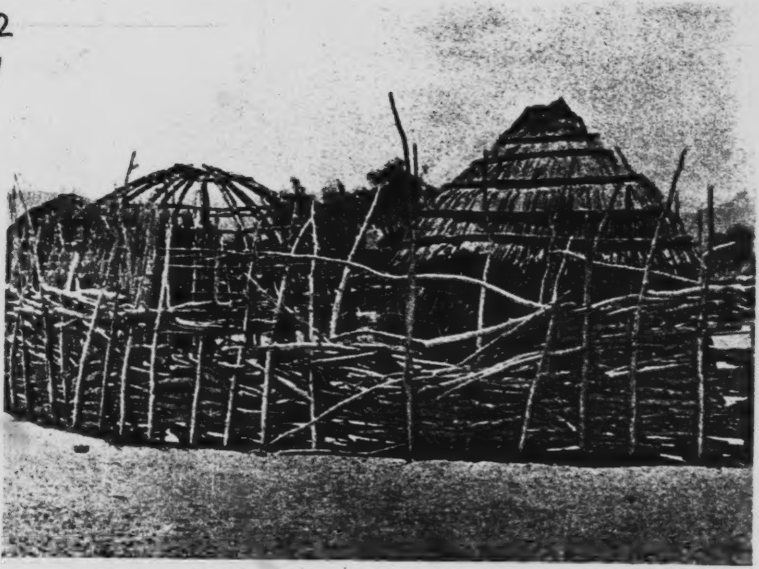

Fig. 15.–Beehive huts within a round enclosure at the village of Iferouan in Northern Air. The construction seen on this photograph consists of arches made from lashed bundles of slender sticks fastened to poles embedded in the ground. Horizontal sticks are fastened to the arches which are supported by a central forked post with a short crossbar placed on its top. For a detailed description of this construction see Foureau 1905, III, p. 885 f. Beehive huts in Air are also made from boughs embedded in the ground and tied together at the top without a central post.

174 233 camel-breeding. The camel is known to have been very common in Tripolitania in the 4th century A.D. It was introduced to this region a few centuries before that time, and it was known in Egypt about the year 500 B.C. It is therefore probable that the camel was introduced into the Central Sahara even prior to the first Arab invasion of the 7th century. Camel-breeding seems to have certain traits in common with pastoral cow-breeding, and the oldest camel-breeders of Northern Africa may have lived in tents or huts of arch construction – most possibly in so-called barrel-vaulted dwellings, which appear to have been extremely common in Northern Africa throughout Antiquity (cf. Le Coeur 1937. – Feilberg 1944, p. 202f.).

174 [342] ● [565] [184] [192] The T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are apparently historically related to similar posts of Arab black tents in Eastern Algeria, Tunis, Tripolitania, and Eastern Libya. Considering the fact that T-shaped posts among the Northern Tuareg are claimed to be characteristic of the noble class, there may be a certain connection between noble Tuareg of the North and Arabs. I have mentioned above that in the North the term for noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren*, sing. *Ahaggar*) is different from the term used in other Tuareg groups (*Imacheṛen*, sing. *Amacheṛ*). I have also

174 mentioned that the word *Ihaggaren (Ahaggar)* is perhaps derived from *Hoouara*,
[192] which was a common term for certain Berber tribes particularly living in Tripolitania in the Middle Ages. According to Edrisi the Hoouara Berbers were originally Arabs who adopted Berber language (Edrisi p. 66ff.). This is not proved by Ibn
[114] Khaldoun's important work on the history of the Berbers. But Ibn Khaldoun states that the Hoouara came under Arab influence at a very early date, and some of the pastoral Hoouara people apparently migrated southwards to the desert at a later date than the Lemta (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275ff.).

I think that the ancestors of the noble Tuareg introduced the camel into the Sahara. I think too that this may have happened before the first Arab invasion of the 7th century. But some of the dominating noble Tuareg have emigrated from Tripolitania after the Arabs have arrived. And it is probable that the political systems of the Tuareg already very early were influenced by the Arabs among whom a class system is found even nowadays as described from Cyrenaica by
171 Evans-Pritchard. In that region there are client tribes known as *Marabtin alsaqan*
565 because they pay *sadaka*, a fee, to a free tribe for protection and for the privilege of using the earth and water. Some fragments of client tribes even to-day have a very inferior social position and are forced to make payments to, and to perform services for, the free tribes among whom they live (Evans-Pritchard 1949, p. 53).

The word *sadaqa*, a fee, is known to the Tuareg, and there are other Arabic
171 words connected with their political systems. Here I shall content myself with
192 reference to the word *khalifa* used among the Northern Tuareg for the deputies of a chief, and the very important word *ettebel* meaning "drum", "drum-group", and in Air also "drum-chief". Ultimately the history of Tuareg political systems should
174
101 probably be viewed in connection with those of Arabs.

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173 /43 cont./ The Latin, Greek, and Arab texts that have come down to us give rise to very diverse interpretations and are, in any case, extremely fragmentary.

It seems acceptable to put the beginning of this period, as far as the Ahaggar is concerned, at about the time of the Punic Wars, and to end it on February 16, 1881, date of the massacre of the Flatters mission. From that date on, the Ahaggar enters into history properly speaking.

The protohistory of the Ahaggar poses the question of the origin of the Tuareg, a question which has not yet been satisfactorily resolved. They are probably Berbers coming from different tribes, who could have crossed with a white population already settled in the Ahaggar. What characterizes the Tuareg, aside from certain somatic traits such as tall stature, an arm span /envergure/ often greater than their height, smooth or wavy black hair, the rarity of hairiness, is the unity of the language, the use of tifinagh characters, and a way of life with particular customs which has succeeded in assimilating tribes of Arab origin, such as the Issakamaren.

/44/ The Tuareg pass on orally the legendary story of Tin Hinan, said to be the "mother," ancestress of the Kel Rela nobles, who know no masculine ancestor, although some say he was French (an affirmation to be regarded with suspicion and certainly of recent origin).

Tin Hinan supposedly came from Tafilalet, but no one knows why she came to the Ahaggar, accompanied by her servant woman Takamat, ancestress of the Dag Rali.

The story, which neglects the male ancestor, must be
[565] regarded as the expression of the Tuareg tradition which calls for the transmission of the rights of nobility through the women.

The /early/ Tuareg must have possessed camels, for Tin Hinan rode a white female camel. Did they join, either as guides or protectors, caravans going to the north? We may think this, for the excavations of Tin Hinan's tomb by M. Reygasse uncovered funerary furniture which included objects of Roman origin.

571 564 [567] /48 cont./ Each tribe possessed slaves (iklan), bought or captured in the Sudan. They lived with Tuareg families, carrying out domestic chores, tending goats, extracting salt, digging wells. These slave families were an integral part of the tribe and followed it in its moves.

The harratin were free or freed men, generally Negroes, often natives of the Touat, come to cultivate the arable lands of the Ahaggar. They worked under two contract systems, which are still in force and which we shall study further on.

## The Tribes

631 In the preceding chapter we saw that each noble tribe possessed imrads, or vassals. Each of these imrad tribes has a chief called "amrar," who rules the tribe according to custom. A tribe can be divided and subdivided. The tribe possesses a pasture region of its own, in which no other tribe may sojourn without a previous agreement with the amenokal, and that only in exceptional circumstances. The nobles may sojourn as they like on the lands of the vassals. The imrad tribes pay a due to the amenokal as a sign of their vassalage. This tax is called "tioussé." The payments are always in kind and in general are scrupulously discharged. This revenue enables the amenokal to uphold his rank suitably during the almost daily receptions, but it is not enough to cover the expenses of his command completely.

/49/

## The Nobles

● 565 The Kel Rela at present constitute the most important noble tribe of the Ahaggar. These nobles, called in Tamashek "ihaggarènes," are split into three subgroups: the iboglanes, the inembas, and the ikérémoïens. These subgroups are related and increasingly practice endogamy.

The Kel Rela are without doubt the handsomest specimens of the Tuareg type. Does this derive from the fact that they have

565/49 cont. / been the ruling caste for a long time? One is obliged to remark their true nobility, their refined politeness, and their never failing courtesy. They are more open than the imrads, often more intelligent, and some of them even possess a sense of humor. Beyh ag Akhamouk, the present amenokal, is a very representative personage and has fine qualities as a chief. The young Kel Rela turn more and more to the French, associate with them, become their friends. This attraction will become generalized little by little, that is, the esteem that these young people have for particular individuals will be extended to include France, which is only an abstraction for them. [162] [563] The Kel Rela number slightly over 300 and possess about 350 black servants. Their tents are scattered over the whole of Ahaggar territory. The camp of the amenokal is never very far from Tamanrasset.

Another noble tribe, the Tédjéhé Mellet, is not large; [162] reduced to 32 individuals, it ordinarily sojourns in the Tefedest near the imrad tribes it possesses: the Kel Ohet and Kel Terrourrit. These nobles play practically no role in the Tuareg organization of the Ahaggar. The tribe's amrar is Khourou ag Salah.

Since our arrival in the Ahaggar, the Taïtok tribe has been exiled to the Sudan and has been dispossessed of its lands. [162] There still remain, however, about 30 nomadic Taïtoks in the vicinity of Tamanrasset. Illou ag Amri is the amrar.

[162] Nearly 70 nobles from the Sudanese tribe of Iforas sojourn in Ahaggar territory. They are often allied with the Kel /50/ Rela. Among these Iforas are a few who belong to the marabout Iforas of Temassinine.

## The Imrads

According to legend, the Dag Rali are the descendants of Takamat, Tin Hinan's servant woman. The mountains of the

565 /50 cont./ Atakor and the Arechchoum are their pasture regions. It is a tribe of rich camel and goat raisers.

[162 563] It is the most important imrad tribe under the Kel Rela;
there are about 390, served by nearly 400 Negroes. The Dag
Rali are stubborn mountaineers, a little narrow minded. They
[147] are remarkably resistant to fatigue when they walk in their
rough country. Let us also note their adaptation to the cold
of December, January, and February; the camps are generally
situated at an average altitude of 2, 000 meters. The Tuareg
[291 are clothed in two cotton gandurahs and are quite often wrapped
132] in a "dokali"; they bear cold which drops as low as -12° in the
tent toward five in the morning.

The tribe's amrar is Akroud ag Ama (1). The handsomest tents belong to the Dag Rali, and the men are renowned as hunters of wild sheep.

[651] The tioussé paid to the amenokal is about 12 mezoued /leather grain sacks/ of dates, eight bottas /bottles/ of butter, the loan of 12 ewes for milk, and ten goats for slaughtering.

Several subgroups may be seen within the Dag Rali, named mainly according to the regions they inhabit: Kel Arechchoumi, /sic/ and the Ikhechemaden, who formerly were imrads of the Taïtoks.

[162 563] The most numerous imrad tribe is the Adjouh n'Téhélé. It includes approximately 590 individuals and more than 750 Negro domestics. Although imrads, the Adjouh n'Téhélé are regarded as different by the nobles. Toward the eighteenth century, this tribe, which was living in the Aïr at the time, came of its own accord to incorporate itself into the Kel Ahaggar. This was done to escape the exactions /51/ of the sultan of Agadez, who each year demanded a virgin as a sign of vassalage. This tribe's territory of nomadization extends to the east and south of those of the Dag Rali.

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1. Died in 1952.

565 621 /51 cont./ The most important agricultural centers belonging to the Adjouh n'Téhélé are Tarhaouaout, In Dalag, and Tahifet. There are several subgroups: the Isanden in the Isernan region; the Kel Rafsa, Tahifet region; the Rela'ldine, Tin-Tarabin region; and the Kel Hagalella to the south of Tamanrasset. The tribe's amrar is Samaalatokh ag Mansouri. [651] The tioussé paid to the amenokal is approximately the same as that paid by the Dag Rali.

565 [157] The Adjouh n'Téhélé have an open character; they are gay and like to joke, but they have the reputation of being quick tempered and irascible.

The Aït Loen tribe is, like the preceding ones, an imrad tribe of the Kel Rela. It is descended from Takamat. These Tuareg are nomads in the eastern Atakor and sometimes penetrate into Ajjers territory. Their most important center is Tin-[491] Tarabin. There are no roads going into the territory of this tribe, so their tents are rarely visited.

[162 563] There are about 500 Aït Loen; they possess 620 black servants. The Kel Torha, Kel Anahef, and Kel Telerteba are the ~~three~~ subgroups of the tribe, whose chief is El Ralen ag [651] Nissoran. Their tioussé is about four mezoued of dates to the Kel Rela and one mezoued of dates paid by the Kel Torha to the Tédjéhé Mellet.

The Aït Loen are experienced guides for going to the Ajjers and Ténéré regions.

[162 563] The Iklan Taoussit number about 600, served by 650 Negroes. They are nomads in the Tahelra, the Silet region, the Amded and Tekouiat wadis, and in the northern part of the Adrar des Iforas. They formerly belonged to the Imenanes, which accounts for their name, which means "servant of the tribe." [651] Their tioussé is on the order of four mezoued of millet, two bottas of butter, and six milch goats. Dali ag Akoumaris is the tribe's amrar. The subgroup of the tribe which sojourns almost continually in the Tin-Zaouaten region has Khadida for chief.

565 /51 cont./ The Iklan Taoussit are /52/ the Tuareg who consume the most afazzou seeds (Panicum turgidum).

[162 563] There are very few Tédjéhé n'Néfis: 98 Tuareg and 120 Negroes. This tribe, like the preceding one, is imrad of the Kel Rela but formerly belonged to the Taïtoks. The Tédjéhé n'Néfis are related to the Adjouh n'Téhélé and like them were originally from the Aïr. Their camps are generally in the Tamanrasset wadi, downstream from the village, mostly near the gardens of Tidjenouine. The chief of the tribe is Ad Noumen ag Khadida.

[162 563] The Ibotenaten tribe, comprising 128 individuals served by 153 Blacks, is enfeoffed to the Kel Rela without being truly imrad. It is said that an Ibotenaten once killed a noble Ahaggar. The tribe was beaten by the Kel Rela and condemned to pay a tribute.

The Ibotenaten are rich camel raisers. They live permanently in the Tamesna, benefitting from the annual rains which make this region fertile. Ould Brika is the tribe's amrar.

[162 563] The Irreguenaten number 434 and have 600 Negroes. Normally they reside in the Tamesna, but they nomadize toward the Iforas and even the Timétrine region. Their name means "mixture of Arabs and Tuareg." They are allies of the Ibotenaten. Rich camel raisers, the members of this tribe are essentially nomads; they possess no agricultural center. They are the best guides to the Tassili n'Ahaggar.

The name Issakamaren designates a group of tribes of Arabic origin which were raided in the Touat and the Tidikelt about the eighteenth century by the Kel Ahaggar. The [631] Issakamaren speak Arabic and Tamashek, but their customs have become those of the Tuareg. They are incorporated in the Tuareg confederation and are treated as imrads, although with a slight nuance of inferiority in the caste system. Their pasture regions are situated on the periphery of the central massif.

[162 563] The Kel in Khar tribe includes 176 individuals and 50 Negroes. /53/ They are nomads in the eastern part of the Tefedest and trade in the Tin-Zaouaten region.

565 /53 cont./ The Mertoutek center belongs to them, and they possess gardens at Dehine and Abezzou.

[651] The tioussé is set at one young camel and a mezoued of dates. The chief of the tribe is Ikharis ag Akcham. They are rich camel raisers and are excellent guides to the Tefedest and the Amadror.

[162 563] The Kel Amguid number about 88 and possess 9 Blacks. They are related to other subgroups of the Issakamaren. They range over the region of Amguid, the Igharghar, and the Tefedest. The Kel Amguid have gardens at Adenek, Mertoutek, and [651] Ideles. They pay a tioussé of four mezoued of dates, an assaber /mat for the tents/, and a young camel. Kelli ag Khabouba is the chief of the tribe.

[162 563] Imrads of the Kel Rela, the Kel Tazolé number 60 Tuareg and 60 Negroes. They possess an important camel herd and nomadize in the region of Tazerouk, chiefly to the east of that center.

The chief of the tribe is El Mamoun ag el Hadj Baba. Tazerouk is their center, and the small neighboring centers [651] belong to them. Their tioussé is three mezoued of dates, three lambs, and a four-year-old camel.

The Kel Tazolé conduct caravans in the directions of Ghat and the Tidikelt. They exchange millet in Aïr.

[162 563] The Eouen n'Hada number 241 individuals and 90 Negroes. They are nomads in the Tefedest, the Ifetessen, and sometimes in the Selbourak wadi. Tadjemout is their agricultural [651] center. They pay the amenokal a tioussé of three mezoued of grain, a young camel, and a rug.

The Eouen n'Hada, whose amrar is Nassamou ag Elias, are guides for the Immidir.

[162 563] The Kel Immidir are around 170 individuals; they have 45 black servants. This tribe nomadizes particularly in the tassili, region of Arak, the Ifetessen, and the Rharis.

[651] They own the palms at Tadjemout and the Djoraf. This tioussé amounts to six mezoued of dates and a rug. The amrar

565 /54/ is Sidi Rali ag el Hadj Mohamed. The Kel Immidir are caravaneers going toward Ghat and the Tidikelt.

[162 563] [651] The Kel Tefedest tribe is poor: for 61 Tuareg, it has only 11 Negroes. Allied to the Kel Tazolé and the Kel Immidir, it nomadizes in the Tefedest and the Immidir. The Kel Tefedest formerly possessed gardens in an abandoned center near In-Amguel (Adjelil). Their tioussé is four mezoued of dates and a young camel. The amrar of the tribe is Ikkan ag Magamed.

[162 563] [651] The Ikoutessen are very poor and few in number: 85 individuals and 20 Negroes. Lamari ag Moudi is the tribe's amrar. They were paying a tioussé of two mezoued of dates, a guerba /waterskin/, and an empty mezoued. The Ikoutessen ordinarily sojourn in the Amguid region; they travel to the Sudan and the Tidikelt.

[651] Formerly belonging to the Taïtoks, the Kel In Tounine now are under the Kel Rela. They are not numerous and live in the Igharghar region. The Kel In Tounine possess gardens in the Ajjers. They paid the Taïtoks, very irregularly, a tioussé of six mezoued of dates and two sheep. They are guides for going in the direction of the Ajjers.

[162 563] The Kel Ahnet, former imrads of the Taïtoks, at present belong to the Kel Rela. This is a poor tribe of 125 Tuareg and 10 Negroes. They are nomads in the Ahnet, the Acedjerad, and the Adrar des Iforas. They are excellent guides for the Tanezrouft. They possess gardens at Abalessa, Tahart, Tit, and Tibeghim, and palm trees in the Ahnet.

The amrar is Daniel ag Chikkat. The Kel Ahnet trade between the Tidikelt and the Iforas.

[162] [651] The Iouarouaren tribe is composed of only 47 individuals and have no Negroes. It nomadizes in the Acedjerad but resides mainly in the Tin-Zaouaten region. Its chief is Bahman ag Beuh. The Iouarouaren possess palm trees at Tibeghim; they have the reputation of being excellent hunters of addax antelopes. They formerly paid the Taïtoks a tioussé of a mezoued of bechena /millet/ and two bottas of butter. They are guides for the Tanezrouft.

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/55/ An *imrad* tribe of the Tédjéhé Mellet, the Kel Ohet
[162 includes 80 Tuareg and 20 Negroes. It is allied to the Kel
563] In Tounine and has many dealings with the Ajjers. The tribe's
*amrar* is Habib ag Ouhaggarène. Its members nomadize in the
[651] eastern Tefedest and own gardens at Ohet and Dehine. The
*tioussé* formerly was four *mezoued* of dates, rope, and *guerbas*.

The Kel Terrourrirt are *imrads* of the Tédjéhé Mellet.
[162 Their tribe is not numerous: 62 Tuareg and six Negroes. They
563] are very poor. They camp in the Amguid region and in the
Tassili des Adjjer and possess several gardens at In-Amguel.
[651] The *amrar* is Hadj Mohamed ag Salah. They were paying
four *mezoued* of dates, four sheep, rope, and *guerbas*. They
trade with the Tidikelt.

The Ibardjien are not Issakamaren. They are *imrads* of the
[162] Kel Rela. It is a tribe destined to die out; there are only 24
left. They reside in the Tazrouk and Ideles region. They
were remarkable hunters of wild sheep and had dogs trained for
this practice.

The presence in the Ahaggar of former soldiers, most of them Chaamba, must be noted. They marry Tuareg women, found families, and raise their children in the Tuareg customs. They are fairly numerous in the Tin-Zaouaten region.

## The Maalmines. Inaden

565 Within Tuareg society are found artisans called
463 "*maalmines*" in Arabic, but whose Tamashek name is "*inaden.*"
The masculine singular is "*inade;*" plural, "*inaden.*" The
feminine singular is "*tinat;*" plural, "*tinadin.*"

The *maalmines* make up a tribe whose members almost
always marry among themselves. They are related to the
*maalmines* of the Iforas and of the Aïr. Although very black
skinned, they do not have negroid characteristics. The origin
[174] of the *maalmines* is as obscure as that of the Tuareg tribes;
some think /56/ they are Jews who were captured by the Tuareg

565 /56 cont./ and who over a period of time have adopted
463 Tuareg ways (their specialization and their character lend
174 credence to this theory). Some maalmines say that they came to the Ahaggar in the time of the sultan Goma, having been separated from the Idenan tribe of which they were members. Others claim to have always belonged to the Tuareg confederation.

565 In the Ahaggar the maalmines include 17 men, about 20
463 women, and about 40 children. They have ten iklan.

[162] The men are many-sided craftsmen, often clever and fairly artistic; in view of the material they have to work with and the tools at their disposal, one may say that they are remarkable. The women work leather with skill and art. The maalmines are not grouped in tribes but form small families scattered in every corner of the Ahaggar. When a tribe, noble or imrad, needs some work done, it sends for a craftsman and provides him with animals for transporting himself and his equipment. He lives with the tribe during the time necessary for his task and is provided for by the tribe. When the work is done he is paid, according to how satisfactory it is considered, in goats, millet, milk, butter, even camels, but there is no fixed rate paid to the maalmines by the Tuareg. There is a different arrangement when they work for the harratin, who, not being so noble as the Tuareg, would not know how to reward good work with the proper generosity. They are therefore charged the following rate: for one new
[435] hoe (made from an old oil drum): five guessa /dishes/ of wheat or millet; for four rivets put in an old hoe, one guessa of grain; for a new axe the price used to be a goat or five guessa, but since the advent of the black market there is no accurate quotation.

435 For making jewelry, there is a special price fixed by
565 custom, even for the Tuareg; thus for bracelets and earrings
463 the Targui furnishes, for example, ten pieces of silver necessary for making two bracelets; the maalem keeps five

435 /56 cont./ for himself, or else the Targui pays him in actual
463 money the value of the five pieces.

● 565 /57/ The same price applies for rings and pendants. The inaden have an ill-defined position in Tuareg society; some
463 consider them inferior to the imrads, others place them be-
565 tween the nobles and the imrads. It is certain that the maalmines are proud and are far from suffering from an inferiority complex. They are very well acquainted with Tuareg customs, the country, and the people, and are, in brief, the custodians of certain traditions of art, or, it could be said, of culture.

The tinadin, women of the maalmines, work leather as do all Tuareg women, but with them it takes on the character of a profession. They are very skillful and artistic, and their specialty is making cases for the iremdan /a tool/, sheaths for knives, and saber scabbards called "tittar n'takouba."

## The Harratin

565 The harratin of the Ahaggar represent, as they do elsewhere in the Sahara, the sedentary element, chiefly agricultural.

The term designates, in the thought of the region, a caste in Tuareg society. When one questions a Kel Ahaggar about the ranking of the different castes, he places the nobles, ihaggarènes, first; then the vassals, imrads, making a distinction among them of the issakamaren, who are the lowest in the caste; then come the iklan (slaves, let us say, domestic ones) -- these iklan are Blacks, and their difference from the Tuareg is evident from their ethnic type (1).

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1. A parallel Moslem religious and maraboutic hierarchy exists: (Chorfa -- Zaoui -- Arabs -- Mozabites).

565 [563] /57 cont./ The harratin, who are also Negroes, are ranked as low as the iklan by the Tuareg, who have a high degree of racial prejudice.

However, there is a nuance: the "akli" (plural: "iklan") belongs to his master, the Targui; he cannot leave him, and, if he is no longer bought and sold because of the presence of the French, he considers himself the property of his master. The /58/ hartani is a free man; he may live where he wants to, do what work he will where he will; he makes contracts with the Tuareg and is dependent on them only in so far as his work is. Moreover, as a resident of the Ahaggar, he must observe the customs of the country.

[622] [631] He is under the authority of the village chief, who is also a hartani, responsible to the amenokal (1).

1. This ranking and this information concern the observance of custom and have nothing to do with French law, which is administered by the head of the annex and by the judicial authorities at Batna.

The harratin of the Ahaggar apparently have two possible origins. Some come from the oases of the Touat and the Tidikelt. This population movement has, it appears, always [166] existed. The number of these harratin varies; there is, in fact, a continual coming and going between the Ahaggar and the oases of the north, according with the dry and wet years.

The other harratin are iklan who have been freed by the [567] Tuareg. The chief cause of this emancipation is the growing poverty of the nobles and vassals, who no longer have sufficient resources to feed and clothe their domestics.

● 565 /58 cont./ These freed men are no happier for their rise in the caste system, for this liberty is often synonymous with complete destitution.

The economic difficulties resulting from the prohibition of raiding have done more to suppress slavery than law and reason.

174 565 What is to be said on the historic origins of the harratin as an ethnic type? We have already seen that there are two types of harratin.

The former Tuareg slaves are probably originally from the Sudan and the Niger, where they were bought or captured in raids.

The harratin from the Touat and the Tidikelt may have the same origin as the others, but one cannot dismiss the theory that they are descendants, more or less pure, /59/ of an ancient negroid people of the Sahara (1).

(1) In this connection, it is useful to read the articles published in the Bulletins de liaison saharienne at Algiers. These were prepared by professors of the University of Algiers and by all the important persons who, in different capacities, have worked in the Sahara. (Editor: Commander Ferry. Administration of the Territories of the South: Government General of Algeria).

565 241 The harratin constitute a most interesting social element in the Ahaggar, because it is they who cultivate the rare productive plots and who furnish the workmen: masons, carpenters, and manual laborers. If they appear at first sight

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241 /59 cont./ to possess few intellectual or moral qualities, they are perhaps nonetheless readily adaptable.

## The Language

197 The Tuareg speak a Berber language. This language is certainly the strongest link which unites the scattered populations from the regs of the Tidikelt to the banks of the Niger; it is, more than the ethnic type, the element characteristic of these peoples. It is through the language that is maintained what may still be called "Tuareg culture," which survives in the traditions, mores, and superstitions.

This language, which is called "Tamahaq" in the Ahaggar and "Tamacheq" in the Sudan, has several dialects: that spoken by the Kel Ahaggar is called "Tahaggart," thus designated by the Kel Ajjers and the Taïtoks; in the Aïr it is called "Taïrt"; in the Adrar des Iforas, "Tadrak," and the dialect of the Aoullimiden is called "Taoullemmet."

These dialects are very similar to each other; a few local differences in pronunciation distinguish them, as well as certain idioms.

Tahaggart, the language of the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, has been studied the most, chiefly in the noble tribes because, Father de Foucauld said, "the language is pure only as spoken by the nobles."

114 It is a complex language, rich and full of nuances, with a precise and difficult syntax. General Hanoteau succeeded, with the help of Tuareg captured during a battle, in writing a /60/ Tuareg grammar; this was the first formal study of Tamashek.

Dictionaries were compiled by Cid Kaoui and M. Masqueray, but the most remarkable work, which constitutes a summary, is the dictionary of Father de Foucauld. Father de Foucauld's grammar and the texts he has collected afford the best material for studying Tamashek.

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Boy of the noble class, *Kel Tahabanat* on the Niger.

565 The true Tuareg in most groups fall into several classes as follows:—

619 *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*), or *Imajeṛen* (sing. *Amajeṛ*). These two words designate the supreme Tuareg class which is generally referred to in literature as "nobility". The term *Ihaggaren* is used only among the Northern Tuareg, while *Imajeṛen* is employed in Ayr and also among Sudanese Tuareg. The two terms are synonymous, and so-called noble Tuareg are found in most Tuareg groups. However, the *Kel Geres* employ the term *Imajeṛen* for all true Tuareg. Among the *Kel Adṛaṛ* certain tribes claim to be noble, but though these tribes have very much the same position as noble tribes in Ahaggar and in Ayr, they are not recognized as true noble Tuareg by people of other groups.

*Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*). This class is that of *Mrabetin* or marabuts, the religious class established after the introduction of Islam. In most Tuareg groups there are whole tribes of *Ineslemen* under the leadership of their own chiefs, but in Ahaggar there are only a few scattered families. The political position of the *Ineslemen* varies greatly from one group to another. Certain tribes in Ayr which are *Ineslemen* by origin have the same status as the true vassals to be mentioned below, while other *Ineslemen* tribes like the *Ifoṛas* of the *Kel Ajjer* have much the same status as noble Tuareg with the exception that they have no vassals. The *Ineslemen* perform religious duties connected with certain [793] rites of passage. Any Tuareg can acquire the position of *Aneslem* after training in reading the Ḳoran and education in the divine laws under the tutorship of another *Aneslem* or marabut.

*Echchikhen* (sing. *Echchikh*). This word also refers to people of religious status, and is used almost synonymously with *Ineslemen*. Certain tribes of Ayr (Damergu) have a kind of noble status and possess vassals. The word does not have the meaning of *Echcherifen* (sing. *Echcherif*), which refers to descendants of the Prophet. Individual Tuareg families - particularly in noble tribes - often claim relationship with the Prophet.

*Isekkemaren* (sing. *Asekkemar*). A class which is found only in the two northern groups - particularly among the *Kel Ahaggar*. The *Isekkemaren* Tuareg descend from Arabs, or from unions between Arab men and Tuareg women. They are vassals who have a somewhat different status from that of true vassals, who are mentioned below.

*Iregenaten* (sing. *Aregenat*). This name is not always applied to people of a particular class. It is used as a proper name for one Ahaggar tribe which has its origin from mixed marriages between (noble) Tuareg women and Arabs. In most groups the term *Iregenaten* (*Iregenaten*) is applied to Tuareg descending from unions between noble Tuareg men and vassal women.

212 104 184 Fig. 2. The Tuareg alphabet (*tifinay*). The distinctions between Tuareg alphabets of Ahaggar and Ayr are less essential than appears from this list, for some differences are due to the fact that the Ahaggar Tuareg for certain letters prefer an edged form, the Ayr Tuareg a curved one. But both forms are known to all Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg normally write from the right to the left like the Arabs, while the Ayr Tuareg consider it correct to write the letters in vertical rows from bottom to top. It can be seen from the list that the Ahaggar Tuareg have an alphabet of 25 consonants while the Ayr Tuareg have only 21. At the end of words the Tuareg sometimes indicate vowels with a dot, which may stand for any vowel. This simple vowel letter is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tegrrit*, to the Ayr Tuareg as *tetenaḳlt*. The dialect of the Ayr Tuareg is very little known and most Ayr words mentioned in this study have never been published previously. Even my collection of Ahaggar words seems to contain terms lacking in Foucauld's dictionaries. For certain geographical names the mode of spelling is in accordance with that generally used for geographical maps.

[text continues on p. 12]

565 619 *Imṛad* (sing. *Ameṛid*). People of this class are sometimes called "serfs" in literature, but the word "vassals" is also used. I prefer to use the latter term, but add that the word *Imṛad* is most difficult to translate into an European language. The vassal class is represented in all groups with the exception of the *Kel Geres*. Among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Iwllemmeden* the word *Kel Ulli* (sing. *Agg Ulli*) is used synonymously with *Imṛad*. Among south-western Tuareg around Timbuktu the word *Daga* or *Daṛa* is also used to designate vassals. The *Imṛad* class is by far the most numerous in most groups. The relationship between these vassals (*Imṛad*) and the noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren*, *Imajeṛen*) forms the basis of most political systems which are described later (p. 393 ff.).

101 565 Members of the above-mentioned classes are true Tuareg, though the word *Ineslemen* is also used for marabuts of other peoples and for marabuts of various black-skinned castes found among the Tuareg. Among the Northern Tuareg all people of the above-mentioned classes with the exception of certain *Ineslemen* or marabuts are called *Imuhaṛ* (sing. *Amahaṛ*). The Ayr Tuareg have no such common term to designate the people known to us as *Tuareg*, but occasionally they use generically the word *Imajeṛen* though strictly speaking this term should be reserved for Tuareg of the supreme noble class.

101 The word *Tuareg* (sing. *Targi*) is never used by the Tuareg themselves, but by Arabs. Duveyrier claims it to be derived from an Arabic word of the root *terek* meaning "to abandon". The meaning of the word accordingly should be "those abandoned (by God)", and should refer to the fact that many Tuareg do not follow Islamic rules very strictly (Duveyrier 1864, p. 317 f.). The same explanation has also been given to me by an Arab of the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* tribe of Tidikelt. However, the origin of the word "*Tuareg*" is perhaps a different one: – It may be related to the word *Targa* (Ayr) or *Tarġa* (Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer), which name is used by the Tuareg to designate the part of the Sahara generally known to us by the Arabic word *Fezzan*. This is very likely, as we know from Arab authors of the Middle Ages that the word *Targa* or *Tarġa* was then used as a name for a very important Tuareg group living in that area and adjacent regions (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 83 f.; Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534; Rodd 1926a, p. 273 f.).

142 144 291 516 The Tuareg are fair-skinned people who in certain regions and particularly in the south have mixed with Negroes. The Northern Tuareg are predominantly fair-skinned, and many of them are as "white" as Europeans though perhaps a little yellowish or brownish. It is difficult to determine their exact skin colour because they are burned and tanned by the sun and the hot wind characteristic of desert climate. In addition, the Tuareg wear clothes dyed with indigo which comes off on the body, and they rarely wash. When I lived among them my own skin-colour and that of the Tuareg were practically identical. Among the Ayr Tuareg there are also many fair-skinned people, but the Ayr Tuareg are more mixed with Negroes than the Northern Tuareg, and most *Kel Ewey* are predominantly negroid. Very mixed also are the *Kel Geres* and the same seems to hold for other Tuareg groups of the south. A few blond individuals have been recorded from the *Kel Ajjer* living around the oases of Ṛat and Ṛadames, and they may be the offspring of unions between Tuareg women and caravan traders of the north (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 162 f.). 648 The blond individuals met in Southern Ayr are the offspring of the fairly numerous marriages between Frenchmen and Tuareg women, but it is claimed that a few years ago a very blond girl was born to parents of families which had never contracted marriages

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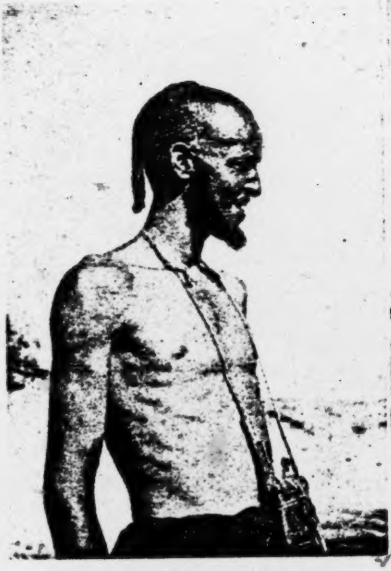

Fig. 3. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Iklan-en-tawsit* tribe.

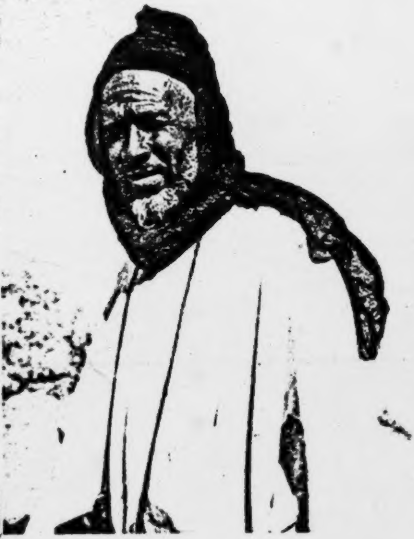

Fig. 4. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

142 with the French. I have myself never seen a genuine blond Tuareg, but I have met a few albinos though
144 albinism seems to be rare. These observations agree with those of Lhote (1955a, p. 163). All the Tuareg
[143] I have seen had curly or straight black hair, and dark brown or almost black eyes. Many individuals
had fairly broad faces with protuding cheeks which gave them superficially a mongoloid appearance,
142 while others had features more like Mediterranean Europeans. In literature the Tuareg are generally
described as very tall people. I did not myself carry out anthropological measurements, but will not
hesitate to state that in my opinion a great many Tuareg are far from big. Very many adult men in the
groups I have visited were considerably shorter than myself (1.73 m). Tuareg men are generally dry
[147] and meagre, bearing the stamp of their roaming life in the desert. Their most outstanding quality is
[157] that of endurance and contempt of hunger and hardship. The appearance of Tuareg women is often
quite different – they tend to grow fat. This is probably to some extent due to the fact that married
826 women spend most of their life in the tents and get little physical exercise. But fatness is also a sign
832 of feminine beauty, and some women make a great effort to grow fat by drinking milk or eating
[261] certain fattening plants (cf. p. 177, 178). According to some Tuareg fat women symbolize wealth – large
flocks and herds, and much milk – but many Tuareg also say that they prefer fat women because they

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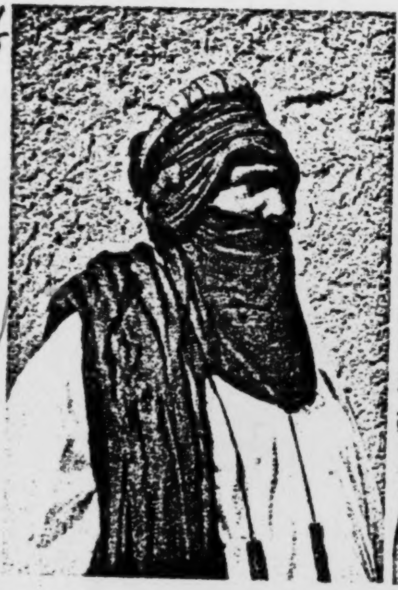

[144] Fig. 5. Veiled vassal Tuareg. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

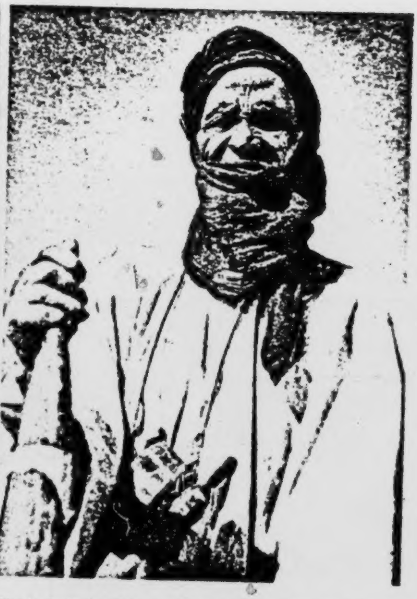

Fig. 6. Irrigation farmer of the *Iburelliten*, that is descendants of mixed marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg and Negroes. The man is patrilineally releated to the noble *Tuytok* tribe, matrilineally to slaves. Ahaggar, Amsel.

181 and there are indeed many Tuareg both in Ahaggar and in Ayr who wear Islamic amulets which are believed to make the wearers look "great and important". "Prestige" is constantly in the mind of all Tuareg who are much more sophisticated than other people living within their country.

181 Most true Tuareg are nomadic stock-breeders who will not engage in the strenuous work of irriga- 433 tion agriculture. The Tuareg will readily engage in any strenuous work connected with stock-breeding, 461 caravan trading, and in the past also in raiding expeditions, which were organized by people of the nobility, but agricultural work is generally much despised. However, there are in all groups certain families or tribes the members of which subsist predominantly by agriculture, and are nevertheless considered true Tuareg by pastoralists. These agricultural Tuareg will be mentioned in a later chapter, 564 and we shall now pass on to a brief description of various negroid castes and of other non-Tuareg 567 people living within the boundaries of Tuareg territory:—

*Iklan* (sing. *Akli*). These are the proper slaves who are very negroid. Nicolas believes that the word *Akli* (pl. *Iklan*) is in fact derived from a k-l root meaning "to be black" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189), but

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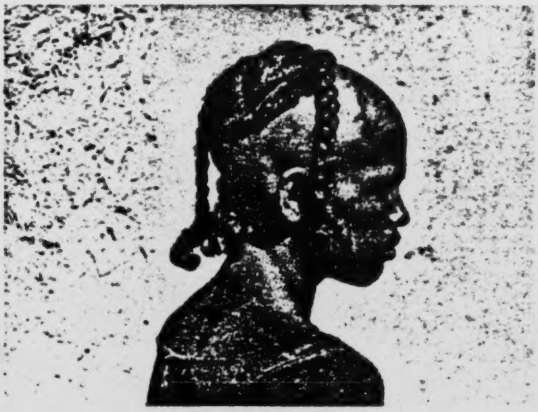

Fig. 7. Tuareg boy of the vassal tribe *Imezzureg* in Ayr.

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Foucauld states that it does not refer to black skin-colour but only to membership of a particular caste (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 787). However, Tuareg slaves are Negroes taken during raids and warfare in the Sudan or bought from slave markets in Sudanese towns and cities. The Sudanese origin of slaves is also indicated by the Ahaggar word *Ibenheren* (sing. *Ébenher*), which term refers to a slave who speaks only a Sudanese language. It is frequently used by Northern Tuareg as an abuse of their [648] slaves, particularly of slave children. Among the Northern Tuareg slavery is still practised with the tacit consent of the French military administration. Most Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer have slaves to take care of flocks and herds and to perform various domestic tasks. These slaves live in pastoral camps of the Tuareg, and in Ahaggar they have frequently told me that they felt superior to the black-skinned agriculturists though the latter largely descend from freed slaves. In the Southern [648] Tuareg groups slavery is officially abolished, perhaps because the Southern Tuareg are governed by civil administrators. But it seems as if the official abolition of slavery in the south was also a result of the Tuareg revolt against the French 1916–1917, and very few Ayr Tuareg have slaves nowadays. However, the manumission of slaves is not just a recent phenomenon due to European influence. Slaves have been freed long before the advent of French colonization at the beginning of our century. There are in the south whole groups of slaves who have been manumitted at an unknown date in the past, and these people are known among the Ayr Tuareg by the term *Iŗawélen* most of whom are nomadic stock-breeders culturally akin to true pastoral Tuareg. They are also known by the Hausa term *Buzu*, which term again corresponds to the Sonŗay word *Bélla*. This latter word, however, may sometimes refer also to people who are considered a kind of slaves by the Tuareg. Nicolas divides the freed slaves among the *Iwllemmeden* into three groups, viz. *Iklan-n-Egef*, *Iraweian*, and *Iderfan*. The two first groups comprise pastoralists also known as *Buzu*, or *Bélla*, while most members of the last

group are sedentary agriculturists (Nicolas 1950a, p. 190). In Ahaggar most freed slaves have become incorporated in the negroid caste now to be mentioned. 564 567

*Izeggaren* (sing. *Azeggaṛ*). This term designates the caste of agricultural Negroes known to the Arabs as *Ḥarratin* (sing. *Ḥartani*). In Ahaggar this caste has a rather mixed origin. It did not exist in this 564

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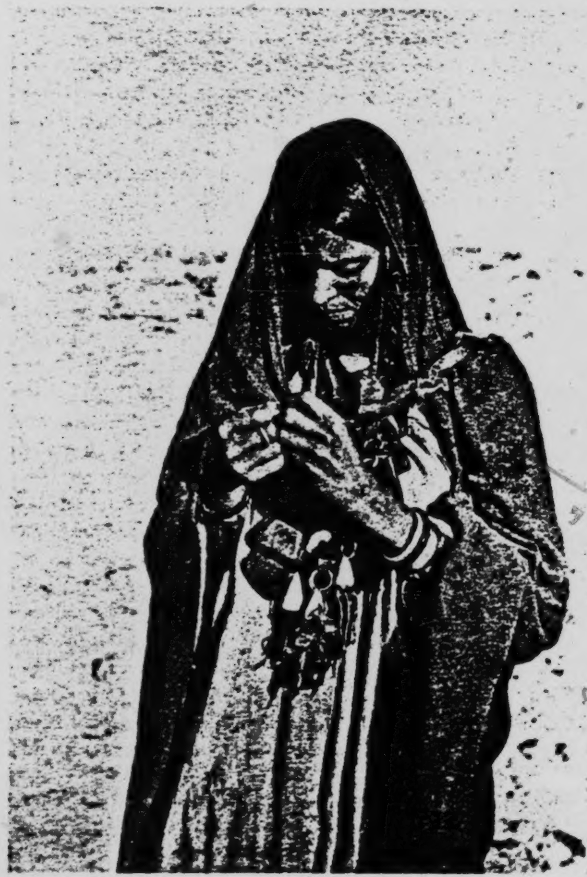

Fig. 8. Vassal woman with amulet cases and snail-shells hanging around her neck. Ahaggar, the *Ağuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

564 region until about a hundred years ago. During the reign of the Ahaggar *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed*
[463] (1830–1877) black-skinned agriculturists of the Tidikelt oases immigrated to Aḥaggar to cultivate
[567] gardens on behalf of the pastoral Tuareg. The agriculturists of Tidikelt when settled in Ahaggar were
joined by many Tuareg slaves (*Iklan*) who are now free and known as *Izeggaṛen*, or *Ḥarraṭin*, like the
[191] immigrants. People of this particular caste, as a result of its mixed origin, are frequently bilingual,
speaking Arabic as well as Tuareg language (*tamahaḳ*). The *Izeggaṛen* (*Ḥarratin*) are generally less
[144] negroid than the slaves. They are racially very mixed and many of them have certain europid features.
[142] Their skin-colour is less frequently black than dark brown, and the name *Izeggaṛen* (sing. *Azeggaṛ*)
refers to that particular colour. An agricultural caste identical with that of *Izeggaṛen* does not seem to
exist in other Tuareg groups, but a negroid agricultural population of the Ṛat oasis known as *Ikewweren*
apparently has much the same status. A few families of the agriculturists living at Abalessa in Ahaggar
claim descent from *Ikewweren* immigrants.

[361] *Kel Ĝanet* (sing. *W'Ĝanet*). This word refers to the inhabitants of the Ĝanet (Djanet) oasis in Tasilé-
[144] n-Ajjer. The population of this oasis is a very mixed one. Negroid types are prevalent but fair-skinned
europid types are not uncommon. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer the *Kel Ĝanet* have much the same position as
[575] Tuareg vassals (Imṛad), while in Ahaggar, where there are *Kel Ĝanet* immigrants, their status is rather
[567] like that of other sedentary agriculturists mentioned above. In their homeland the *Kel Ĝanet* may
possess slaves like other Tuareg vassals, but those living in Ahaggar are never slave-owners.

564 *Ineden* (*Inẹden* in Ahaggar) (sing. *Éned*). These are the blacksmiths who are found in all Tuareg
326 groups. They form a very important caste as Tuareg craft is little developed. The Tuareg obtain their
weapons and many other implements from the blacksmiths who also make silver ornaments for Tuareg
women. If it were not for the blacksmiths the Tuareg material culture would indeed be a poor one.
People of the other black-skinned castes are also highly dependent upon the blacksmiths who make
[162] hoes, sickles, and the like. In the two groups of Northern Tuareg there are very few blacksmiths – only
a few families who live in agricultural settlements. In Southern Tuareg groups blacksmiths are very
numerous, and many of them lead a pastoral life similar to that of the true Tuareg. The origin of the
564 blacksmith caste is unknown. Many blacksmiths claim their ancestor or patron saint to be *Sidna*
173 *Dawud*, that is "Our Lord David", who is said to have lived in an eastern country near Mekka. This
myth intimates Jewish descent and it is a fact that there are many Jews among smiths and goldsmiths
in Northern Africa and in the Middle East. This is well documented in literature (cf. Nicolaisen 1963).
A relationship between Tuareg blacksmiths and Jews is also in accordance with two traditions told
about the immigration of blacksmiths to Tuareg countries:— 1) According to a tradition collected
by Lhote, the blacksmiths descend from Jews who originally lived in the oasis of Temenṭiṭ in Tawat.
At the end of the 15th century they were driven southwards by the Arabs (Lhote 1955a, p. 210 f.).
2) A tradition collected by Foucauld claims the blacksmiths to be Jews from Morocco. They followed
Berber-speaking tribes from that area on their southwards migration along the Atlantic coast (Fou-
cauld 1951–52, III, p. 1300). These traditions are interesting and they do not disagree with the fact that
most blacksmiths among the Northern Tuareg comparatively recently have immigrated from Ayr and
564 Adṛaṛ-ṇ-Foṛas. It is difficult to state the original racial position of the blacksmiths. Though most of
144 them are predominantly negroid there are also rather europid types among them, and Tuareg of Ayr

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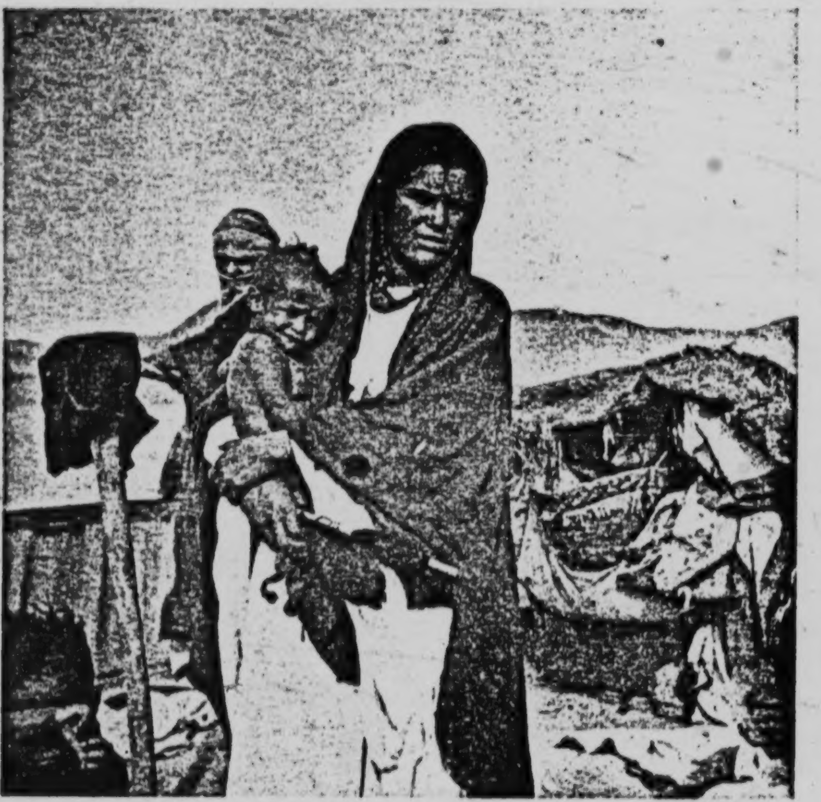

[184] Fig. 9. Vassal woman with her child straddling over the right hip. The Tuareg generally carry their children in this way though certain Ayr Tuareg have adopted the Sudanese fashion of carrying children on the back. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehle* tribe.

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144 have expressed as their opinion that the blacksmiths originally constituted a fair-skinned Tuareg population who mixed with black-skinned Sudanese people like so many true Tuareg. It is interesting
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198 that Tuareg blacksmiths have a peculiar language of their own known as *ténet*. This language has unfortunately never been studied. It is used by the blacksmiths mainly as a secret language spoken when they do not want other people to understand them, whereas blacksmiths use Tuareg (*tamachek*) as their family language. The Ayr Tuareg consider the *ténet*-language an invention of the blacksmiths.

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Fig. 12. Blacksmith woman. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

563 they more frequently refer to mulattoes as *Ichardanen* (sing. *Acharda*). Such mulattoes do not form any particular class or caste.

It is stated in almost all writings on the Tuareg that the offspring of mixed marriages will acquire the social status of their mothers, but though this may be theoretically true in some Tuareg groups actual conditions are more complicated. Among *Ineslemen* Tuareg and generally in southern Tuareg [564] groups there is a strong tendency to acknowledge patrilineal affiliation. In Ahaggar classes and castes [565] should ideally be matrilineal organizations. However, this is not always so. A man who descends from a vassal mother and a noble father will not become a true vassal. He will not have to perform any of the obligations characteristic of the vassal class, and to-day he is normally considered noble 563 though he cannot succed to chieftainship in his father's tribe. If a pastoral Tuareg marries a woman 591 of one of the black-skinned castes the children who grow up in the father's camp will frequently remain there as pastoralists and members of their father's tribe. Conversely children descending from a black-skinned father of an agricultural settlement and a fair-skinned pastoral woman will often remain in the settlement to practise agriculture even after their father's death. As to offspring of marriages between Tuareg men and slave women, they will continue to live in the father's tribe as pastoralists, and will frequently acquire the social position of the father as mentioned later in the description of Tuareg slavery. Mixed marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg and people of black-skinned castes constitute a minority. But it seems as if such marriages are on the increase.

101 All the above mentioned peolpe are Tuareg-speaking though part of the sedentary agriculturists of 563 Ahaggar (*Ḥarratin*, or *Izeggaṛen*) have Arabic as their mother tongue. In Ahaggar there are also many [197] true Arabs – particularly at the administration centre of Tamanṛaset. There are also Arabs at certain other villages in Ahaggar, and there are Arab pastoralists. They have largely mixed with the Tuareg, and certain Arab pastoralists such as the *Ahl Azzi* (*Kel Ṛezzi*) should be classed rather with Tuareg than with Arabs. There are also some Arabs in Ayr. There are Arab traders at Agadez, Iferwan, and Ingal, and there are a few Arab pastoralists who have mixed with pastoral Tuareg of Northern Ayr.

*233 their flocks, but it is, on the whole, inproper to show any interest in their animals. Some nomads will
128 even claim that although they know all their goats by sight, they do not know, or never mention, the
[172] total number of their animals, as this is believed to bring bad luck. This belief is probably explained by the idea of the evil eye. To this may be added that it is difficult to judge the ownership of goats by merely watching the flock of a household which may also have animals grazing on other pastures.

*233 According to official statistics for 1948, the average number of goats per household among the *Kel Ahaggar* is fifteen (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265). This figure is probably derived from the tax lists, and it seems to be much too low – even when households of slaves and sedentary agriculturists are included. Lhote has stated that the number of goats per person, under ideal conditions, is 35–40. If they increase above this, the surplus is slaughtered or sold to the sedentary peoples of the oases (Lhote 1951a, p. 9). This latter figure for ownership of goats under ideal conditions is probably true for the
*233 more wealthy Tuareg of Ahaggar. Thus among the vassal Tuareg of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe many house-
565 hold are said to possess 100–200 goats, but this tribe is considered extremely rich in goats, and households of other tribes will not generally own so many animals. From rough calculations made in a great many camps of vassal Tuareg, and Tuareg of the *Isekkemaren* class, I estimate that households on an average possess 60–70 goats when pastures are not too badly developed, for it must be emphasized that the size of flocks changes with climatic conditions. For the sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar I estimate, on the basis of calculations made at Amsel, Abalessa, and Taṛhawhawt, that a household possesses on average 15–20 goats.

234 In good years the amount of milk products supplied by a flock of 60 goats is rather considerable. This is clear when we consider the fact that a goat, during the period of three to four months in autumn and early winter when pasture of annual plants is green, will yield up to two litres of milk
[272] every day. When annual pasture gets dry the milk yield decreases but milk is still comparatively plentiful and important for food all the winter. In summer, however, there is little milk for reasons already
*233 referred to, and in dry years goats, even in the cold season, yield little or no milk. The flocks decrease during such periods of drought and some nomads may even lose most of their animals. During my stay among the Tuareg of Ahnet and Ahaggar from November 1954 to April 1955, goats suffered much from lack of fodder. In many camps one or two goats died of hunger every day.

*233 The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot subsist entirely on goat-breeding because severe droughts occur
731 frequently in their country. During drought-periods the goats are so to speak valueless as subsistence for the nomads. But it is remarkable that goats emaciated in consequence of severe drought quickly grow fat and start to yield milk once rain has fallen abundantly enough for the regeneration of pastures. In connection with this we shall point to another characteristic of goat-breeding: The animals have a very short gestation period, and the kids are fully grown for mating in one year. And as one goat may have four kids annually with free mating, a household, which has lost most animals during a drought, will be able very quickly to re-establish a flock large enough for its needs.

*233 Goats are also highly important for the subsistence of the pastoral Tuareg of Ayr. I do not know of any statistic material about the size of flocks in this area, but for Tuareg of Kidal (Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas) flocks are officially estimated at 74 goats and sheep per household (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 269), and this region is environmentally related to Southern Ayr. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that a household

[Text continues on p. 45]

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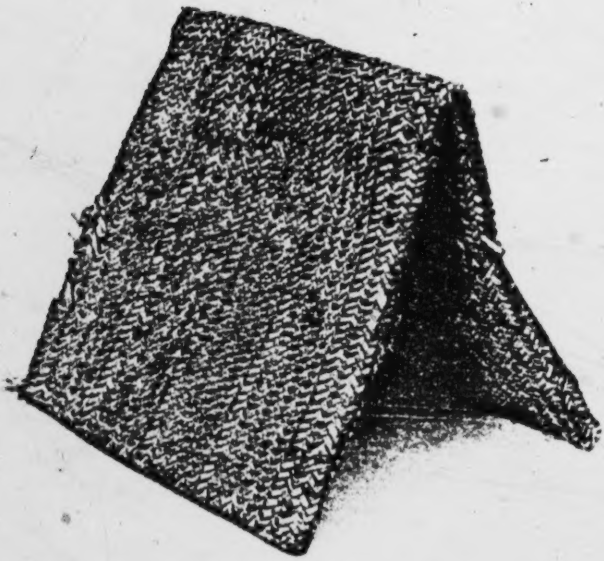

Fig. 66. Saddle cloth (*éselis*) made of dum palm matting. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.28 m high in bent position (N.M. G. 6657).

*492 *ilgam* (Fig. 73–74) made of leather by the *Imeggedezen*. Camels may also be provided with a bell (*anayna*) attached to a neck-collar (Fig. 74b). The Ayr Tuareg also use bells for roaming bull-camels, as I have myself seen, and for rams and he-goats, but never for oxen.

*492 The camel is used for riding by Tuareg men, while many women never mount camels. Among the
562 Northern Tuareg most women of the true vassal class (*Imγad*, or *Kel Ulli*) only mount camels very
● 565 occasionally, when they sit behind the saddle of their husbands or close male relatives. Their proper riding animal is the donkey. Women of the *Isekkemaren* class more frequently mount camels which are the correct riding animals for women of the nobility (*Ihaggaren*). Noble women never ride donkeys.

In Ahaggar proper riding saddles for women are found only in noble tribes, in the *Ireğenaten* tribe,
*492 and in tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. Such saddles are constructionally related to the transportation
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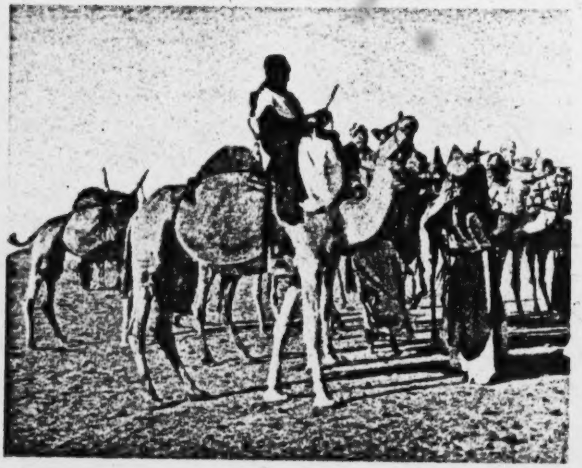

Fig. 68. Tuareg camel riders prepared for a camel-race. The fixed position of the saddles is secured by means of a long cord (*ihwéweren*) tied around the hind part of the camel. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

*492 The saddle types just mentioned are unknown to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg and apparently also to
[562] other Tuareg of Ayr. Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group refer to these women's saddles as "Arab
saddles", and when their women mount camels on festive occasions they do not use proper saddles
but a kind of chair built up upon two very large cushions manufactured by the *Imeggedezen*, and
stuffed with hay. The arrangement of this saddle-chair is complicated and it takes some hours to
finish it. It is built as follows:— The two large cushions (*éstigen*, sing. *ésteg*) are placed on the camel's
back in front and behind the hump. They support a superstructure known as *tésagaley* and made
from various objects belonging to the tent in the following way:— (1) Two large and oblong skin-bags
are stuffed with hay or old cotton pieces and each of them is wrapped with a coloured blanket to form
an oblong parcel. (2) To stay these parcels a rolled bed mat (Fig. 212b) is tied horizontally to each of
[285] them, and they are laid parallel with each other on the ground. (3) A very long mat plaited from dum
palm leaves is rolled up and wrapped into a coloured blanket or a coloured piece of cotton. It is bent
into a U-form and thereupon attached to the two oblong parcels by means of cords. This super-
structure is further covered with coloured blankets and pieces of cotton. It is placed upon the two
large cushions and tied to them and fastened to the camel by means of cords and girths. When a woman
rides in such a saddle-chair she sits behind the animal's hump so that she cannot reach the camel's
neck with her feet. The back of the U-formed mat prevents her from falling backwards. The structure
*492 of the saddle-chair may be seen from the photographs (Figs. 76–77). It should be understood that a
562 saddle made in so difficult a manner is not used by the women except on festive occasions, such as
[484] travelling to attend a marriage or an Islamic feast. Apart from the very few noble women belonging
● [565] to the two noble tribes within the *Kel Ferwan* group all women of this drum-group normally ride

[text continues on p.92]

As an illustration of camel terms given to animals in very special situations, I give the two following 233 examples:— (1) A she-camel when driven out for grazing while its calf is tethered in the camp is known 192 as *tamantak* to the Ahaggar Tuareg, as *tenteg* to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr; (2) A pack-camel when walking in a caravan is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *amekkalu*, while the corresponding [492]* term in Ayr seems to be *alaway*.

For the size of herds the Ahaggar Tuareg have the following terms:— *taẓegga* (a small herd of 20-40 camels and/or she-camels), *ahammal* (from very few animals up to about one hundred, the herd consisting mainly of male camels), *adyaw* (a very large herd comprising about one hundred animals at least, regardless of their sex). As far as my investigations go these terms are not known among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. They refer to a small number of camels as *imnas* (10 to 15 animals comprising male and/or female camels), while a bigger herd is known as *tollemin* (comprising male and/or female camels).

All the above-mentioned camel terms are with very few exceptions used exclusively for camels and not for other animals. Extensive vocabularies are found also for other domestic animals and for many aspects of stock-breeding, but the camel vocabulary is extremely large by comparison. This seems understandable as camels have a many-sided use to the Tuareg, and there can be no doubt that camel-terms like goat-terms are primarily a linguistic technique of practical value – a technique which enables the Tuareg to speak about their animals with precision. But this is evidently not the sole reason why the camel vocabulary is so extensive that a detailed description of all terms would necessitate an independant book on this subject. For the camel vocabulary is extremely large not only [181] because of its practical value, but also because Tuareg interest in camels is not solely confined to their practical uses. This is intimated, I believe, by some of the peculiar terms mentioned and above all by the very many synonyms.

Camels, in contrast to most domestic animals, have social functions among the Tuareg. It is true 233 that bride-wealth in vassal tribes of the Northern Tuareg may be paid in goats (25-30 animals), but 583 this is the case mainly among the *Kel Ajjer* while most Ahaggar vassals will claim that bride-wealth 565 should be paid in camels. The true vassals of Ahaggar give one to three camels for a wife, the payment being dependent upon the bride's tribe – in most tribes it is the custom to give only one camel, while two tribes will claim two and three camels respectively for their women. Among the Ayr vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group bride-wealth may be paid in cash, though the bride-wealth in these tribes is generally one camel as among most northern vassals. But the size of bride-wealth among the Ayr Tuareg is frequently discussed by representatives of the families, and it depends much upon the age, quality, and wealth of the bride. For very desired girls the payment may rise to two or three camels while for others the payment is only "two camel feet", that is a "half share in a camel"; it is said that even "one foot" is sometimes accepted as bride-wealth. This system of giving shares in [578] camels may give rise to trouble between the persons who share the same animal. Among noble Tuareg, both in the north and in Ayr, bride-wealth can be paid only in camels. Among noble tribes of the Northern Tuareg the bride-wealth to be paid is fixed at seven camels, while among the few noble Tuareg now left in the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group the price, it is said, varies between ten and twenty camels. Camels given for bride-wealth are generally *ilusan* (sing. *alegges*) (fem. *tilusin*, sing. *taleggest*), 233

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233 583 601 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for brothers and sisters-in-law.

233 436 [593] [431] [584] [684] [643] [683] The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer, while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However, these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*. For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at 233 436 682 a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

| | *Age* | | | *Colour* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | *tilgad*, or *chét awétay* | (one year old) | 10 | *tibeydegin* | (white) |
| 10 | *tilusin* | (2 years old) | 10 | *titlaŗin* | (mahogany) |
| 10 | *teḳḳenifadden* | (3 years old) | 10 | *tiẓeggeŗin* | (reddish) |
| 10 | *tiŗuyar* | (4 years old) | 10 | *tibhawin* | (reddish brown) |
| 10 | *chét essin* | (5 years old) | 10 | *tilemlaŗin* | (grey) |
| 10 | *chét okkoẓ* | (6 years old) | 10 | *tiẓerifin* | (metallic grey) |
| 10 | *timesseḍas* | (7 years old) | 10 | *timengelin* | (dark grey) |
| 10 | *chét tahalt* | (8 years old) | 10 | *tikewelin* | (black) |
| 20 | *tireggauin* | (more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old) | 10 | *tiẓerŗafin* | (piebald) |
| | | | 10 | *tiwinaŗin* | (white cornea) |

233 822 * [492] [643] The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value, and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours. This is the case with the present *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty camels trained for riding.

233 857 ● [565] [524] [232] [324] [868] [181] Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

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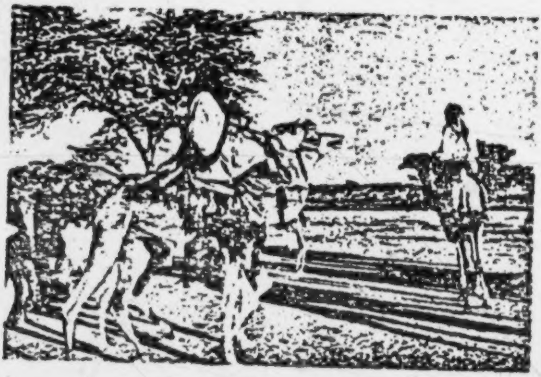


Fig. 82a. Tuareg performing the ceremonial camel-ride on the first wedding day. The women stand in the shade of the *afagag* acacia and sing and drum while the men ride around them two by two. Southern Ayr, *Ifrwadien*.

857 Boys and girls may play together, but there is a tendency for them to separate in their games. Boy-
233 games centre round camels, while the games of girls centre round the family life of the tent and certain
[524] domestic tasks. But though camels are never tended by women, girls also make camel figures from
[566] cotton stuffed with hay, though they do not make figures to represent goats and donkeys which among
vassals are connected with women and tended by them. The emphasis on camels in girl's games is
due to the fact that camels have important functions in social life as described briefly below

884 Tuareg initiation consists in the adoption of the veil by young men, and a similar piece of cotton
[291] used as a head-cloth by young women. The veil is adopted by men when 16–18 years old, the head-
[881] cloth by women somewhat earlier shortly after the first menstruation, or at marriage. At initiation the
[411] young man is presented with a sword, and if he does not already possess a riding camel with a saddle
*[492] it will be given him on this occasion by his father, perhaps by his mother's brother. The young man is
[817] now a warrior and a camel man, and he will take part in nightly gatherings of young people of both
[832] sexes to sing and make music. These nightly gatherings are very often followed by love-making and
*[492] the riding camel and the ability of the young man as a rider play a great part for his success in love.
[565] The beauty of the riding camel, its saddle gear, and the way it is ridden are all to some extent considered
[533] qualities of the rider. Thus when women at nightly gatherings praise young men in their songs they
[434] will also praise the riding camels. And when a girl likes a young man she will present him with coloured
[534] skin bags, reins, embroidered saddle clothes, and similar objects to be used as ornaments for his
riding camel.

526 In a ceremonial ride termed *ilujan* (*ilugan* in Ayr), which is performed at weddings and certain other
*492 feasts, the young men have a particular opportunity to display the beauty of their camels and their
685 own ability as riders. The ride takes place not far from the wedding tent on a level sandy place where
[512] the women gather to sing and drum, while the men dressed in their finest clothes ride their ornamented
[533] camels to and fro past the women, who praise the beautiful camels and the skilled riders by their
songs, their music, and by shrill cheers. In this ceremonial ride the emphasize is not so much on such

wild the Ayr Tuareg also know another type of snare, or rather lasso, which is also known as *tuṛunt*. 231
It consists of a long rope noosed at one end, but the loop in this case is thrown against the animal 224
by means of a short forked stick. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that this type of lasso is not widely found [171]
among them, and claim it is typical of and traditional for the pastoral Fulani, who use it to catch cows which are difficult to approach.

The wild donkeys caught for domestication are young animals, for very old ones cannot be tamed. 231
When an animal is caught by one of the above mentioned methods it is beaten a heavy blow between the ears so that it falls unconiscious to the ground. It is thereupon given a rope around its mouth, for wild donkeys are fierce and have a dangerous bite, and is also tied with ropes around its legs so that it cannot run. When the animal comes to after the blow it is led to the camp where it is tethered. It remains tethered and fitted with hobble-ropes in the camp for one or two months during which period it gets a very brutal treatment. It is trained for riding by the men who mount it daily during [492]*
this period of training (cf. Fig. 85) until it can be ridden as freely as domestic donkeys. The Tuareg say that not all donkeys survive the heavy blow on the head but that most of them do.

Donkeys constitute the important riding animal of all vassal women, and there are also some men 492*
of the true vassal class who ride donkeys though most of them have riding camels. Donkeys are also [562]
extremely important pack-animals. They are used by most Tuareg for the transportation of tents and [565] ●

[283]

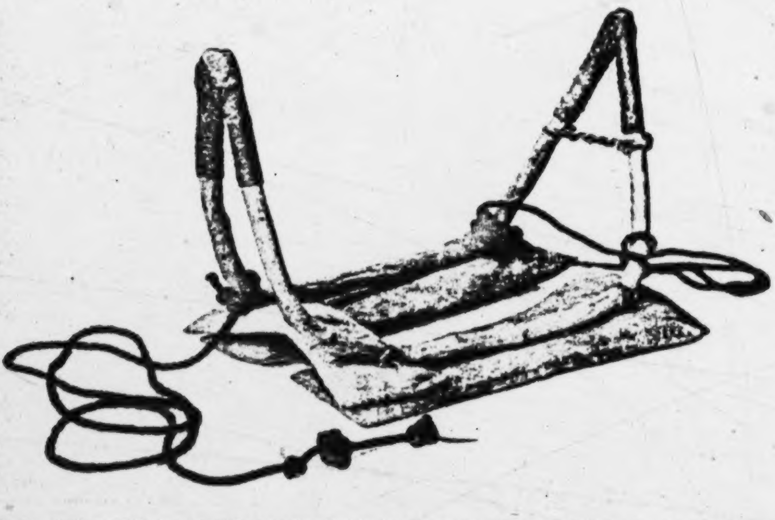


Fig. 86. Donkey saddle (*aruku*) of the type described in detail in the text (cf. p. 110). It is fixed to the animal by two cords of goat's hair: the girth (left), the cord passing under the tail (right). Ahaggar, the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. Dimension: 0.585 m long, 0.360 broad. (N.M. G. 5246).

T *492 Tuareg. Some Ayr Tuareg use a kind of saddle for the transportation of water-bags. It consists of two pieces of wood with grooves to support the cords of the water-bags; it corresponds to the type of saddle described and depicted by Lhote from the *Iullemmeden* (Lhote 1947a, p. 114, 134) which type I have seen also among the *Kel Tahabanat* of the *Kel Ataram* group. However, most Ayr Tuareg do not employ this device. They content themselves with a layer of thin green twigs placed on the donkey's back so that the cords of the water-bag, which hangs under the animal's belly, shall not hurt and gall. T [484] This method is also sometimes used by Northern Tuareg. To transport the tent and its belongings during nomadic migrations, the Ayr Tuareg use one or two rolled-up mats of the tent-covering for saddle, while on trading expeditions to Damergu they place their skin-bags filled with millet directly on the donkey's back. Such bags (*alelu*) may also serve as a kind of saddle for luggage. When the Ayr T [171] Tuareg ride donkeys they sit on the naked back, on a blanket, or on a piece of matting. The Tuareg never use bridle, bit, or rein for riding as do some people of the northernmost parts of the desert and the Atlas. They control their donkeys with a short stick and constantly beat them over the neck to keep up their speed. I have never seen them prick the animal's neck with a spiked stick as is frequently done in the Atlas and adjacent regions. Here many donkeys wear iron shoes which are also unknown among the Tuareg.

## HORSES

T 231 [171] ● [565] H 291 492 531 Horses play a very small rôle with the Tuareg I have studied. There are very few horses in the Northern Sahara where they are bred mainly by sedentary people who are able to feed their animals on barley, millet, and other garden products. Some years ago there were a few horses in the noble *Kel Ṛela* tribe of Ahaggar, but nowadays there are no horses among pastoral Tuareg of this region, and in all Ahaggar

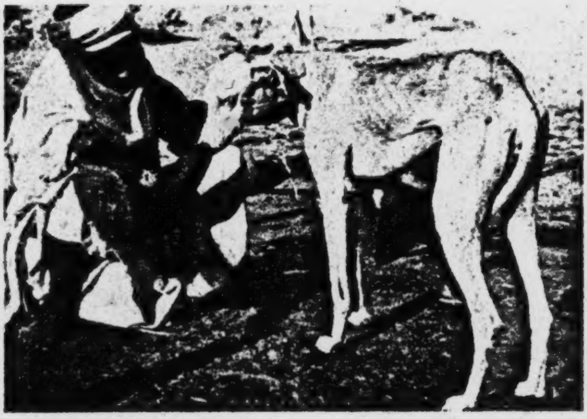
Fig. 87. Hausa Negroes with their richly ornamented riding horses. Ayr, the *Imrggadrzen* of Agadez.

the daily dogfights which are considered a kind of entertainment to everybody in the camp. Colour-terms are also used for dogs, and I have heard one Tuareg boy claim that he preferred dogs that were black and white. Adult people in general treat dogs differently, and they are frequently cruel to them which may be due to Islamic influence which is on the increase among the Tuareg. Though the Tuareg may be cruel to their dogs they acknowledge that they are very "wise and intelligent". They say that the dogs are much like humans with the exception that they cannot speak. Therefore they should also be fed like humans, and they are given millet-porridge – with milk if the yield is abundant. The Tuareg kill their old and superfluous dogs by hanging them from a tree in a noosed rope, and they consider this method very effective. 231 [177]

## CATS

The domestic cat is found in many Tuareg camps. It is generally termed *muchch* which is Arabic by origin. I believe that domestic cats have been introduced to Tuareg countries later than the Arab invasions and that they have been introduced by the Arabs. This is in agreement with Lagercrantz's statement that domestic cats in most parts of North Africa outside of Egypt are post-Arabian (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 65). Cats are allowed to live in tents and huts, and are well treated as among the Arabs. The Tuareg keep cats not only for pets to their children, but they much like to have them in their camps as cats catch numerous scorpions and also attack snakes. [174] [136]

Among sedentary people of Ahaggar and particularly at Tamanṛaset the hedgehog (*ékenisi*, or *tékenisit*) is sometimes kept in the house or within the courtyard as it hunts beetles and scorpions during the night. This custom of keeping tame hedgehogs is no doubt recently adopted from Europeans living at Tamanṛaset. [177]



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565 ●

Fig. 91. A true greyhound (*oska*) patted by a negroid agriculturist of the *Kel Ĝanet*. Tasili-n-Ajjer, the *Uraṛen* tribe.

*233 Each of the three vegetational zones of Ahaggar has its advantages and disadvantages. If we consider
824 a good year when rain has fallen abundantly with a resultant regeneration of all fodder plants, the
137 *Atakor* zone has very excellent pasture. For the plains and the stony mountain slopes are then entirely
132
133 covered with annual plants which by the Tuareg are considered the very best fodder. The Tuareg also
claim that the upper mountain zone is preferable because of its cooler climate, which has a beneficial influence on the lactation of domestic animals. The disadvantage of the *Atakor* zone is the lack of acacias to which can be added the scarcity of fuel. The *Tarayin* zone possess characteristics of the *Atakor* zone and of the *Abada* zone. The *Abada* country is botanically very different from *Atakor*. It has annual pastures of great value when abundant rainfall has been experimented and it also has valuable pastures of perennial plants. With heavy rain the *Abada* country is excellent for stock-breeding, and fuel can be found everywhere. But the Abada country is hotter than are the zones of *Tarayin* and *Atakor*.

If rain falls abundantly all over Ahaggar there is good pasture in all three zones. But rainfall is more frequent and heavier at high altitudes than in the *Abada* zone, so that *Atakor* normally has by far the best pasture of annual plants which spring up late in summer or in autumn. The *Abada* zone on the other hand has the very best pasture of perennial plants, notably acacias that grow around the lower parts of the valleys which are always flooded when it rains in the high mountains.

221 The fluctuations of plant development determine the nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg.
*233 A few tribes have their normal grazing grounds in *Atakor* (e.g., the *Dag Ṛali* and the *Kel Tazulet*).
824 They camp in this zone at most seasons to let their goats and sheep feed on fresh and dry annual pasture.
[132] In dry years and during the hot summer season they may move to the *Tarayin* zone where there are
perennial fodder plants, but they rarely camp in the *Abada* country. Many tribes have their normal
grazing grounds in the *Abada* zone (e.g., the *Aġuh-en-tehlé*, the *Ayt Lowayen*, the *Iheyawen Hada*,
[342] and the *Kel Ṛela*), but move to the *Atakor* when annual pasture is good in this region. They live in
*Atakor* with tents and flocks when annual plants are green, while the rest of the year they camp in the *Abada* country to let their animals feed on acacias and other perennial species. Finally there are two tribes (*Téġehé-n-Efis* and *Iklan-en-tawsit*), the members of which camp in the *Abada* country all the year round even when rich annual pasture is found in *Atakor*. However, members of these tribes may send their camel herds to the *Atakor* zone, accompanied by herdsmen, while tents and flocks remain in the lower country.

221 With the exception of a few noble households which keep up their old tradition to subsist largely
*233 on camel's milk, the Ahaggar Tuareg do not keep their she-camels in Ahaggar unless there are excellent
● [565] pastures of annual plants in this area. They take their camels to pastures far away from Ahaggar,
[262] notably to the Tamesna region where they have their animals guarded by herdsmen who are frequently
[567] slaves. In very dry years there are very few camels in Ahaggar – just the animals needed for riding
and transportation. It is in fact very easy to take camels to distant pastures, and it is most necessary
to give these animals the utmost care as they are most valuable and their breeding is a very slow process
*233 (cf. p. 56). Goats do not need such excellent fodder as do camels. They can eat almost everything, but
731 in dry years goats may also suffer severely from lack of suitable fodder. This was the case in the year
[361] 1954/55 when I stayed in Ahnet and in Ahaggar. In the small camps of three to four tents each it was

428 sister, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the death of the unmarried man one sixth of his fortune is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother), and the remaining parts are collected and re-divided into three parts, two of which are given to the brother, one to the sister.

(7) An unmarried man who has lost his father but has alive his father's father, his father's brother, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the unmarried man's death his fortune is divided into six parts, one of which is given to his mother (or to his mother's mothers) while the remaining five parts go to his father's father.

Patrilineal rules predominate in the system of inheritance. With the exception of the mother (or the
mother's mother), who inherits one sixth, no matrilineal relative can inherit a deceased person. If a
deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, all property left is inherited by patrilineal
[114] kinsmen, and even very remote relatives in the paternal line have inheritance rights. Bissuel states
that sisters' children can inherit (Bissuel 1888, p. 110), but the Tuareg I have asked in Ahaggar
(and in Ayr) denied this.

428 Furthermore, it is claimed in Ahaggar that if a deceased person of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group has
643 no patrilineal relatives alive, his fortune is taken over by the *Amenukal* with the exception of one
sixth in case the mother or the mother's mother of the deceased person is alive. The *Amenukal*, however,
[632] will not keep livestock thus inherited for himself, but will leave it in the tribe to which the deceased
person belonged, and the animals will be under the supervision of the tribal chief who has usufructs
of them. Livestock thus inherited by the *Amenukal* is known as *éhéré wa n ettebel* ("the fortune of the
drum-group)", or *éhéré wa n butelma* ("the fortune of the public"); cf. p. 400).

422 It appears from the rules of inheritance just mentioned that domestic animals are owned individually,
and almost everybody among the Tuareg is a stock-owner. Even little children (boys and girls) may
[858] own a few animals which are given them by their parents and their close relatives on various occasions,
[553] e.g., on the naming day seven days after birth. The offspring of these domestic animals also belong
422 to the children who own them, but milk, butter, meat, and the like derived from the animals should
592 serve the needs of the household to which the children belong. Within the household the husband
and his wife also have their individual animals. Husband and wife can freely kill or sell the animals
they own without asking permission of each other, but the meat and the money acquired from sold
animals should serve the benefit of all members of the same household. A household forms an economic
422 unit of closely related stock-owners.

*233 All Northern Tuareg use ear-marks, cut with a knife, for their goats and sheep. There are a great
many types of cuts which have particular names. I have noted some of these marks among the Ahaggar
[114] Tuareg (Fig. 100). But I did not investigate this subject in great detail as it is considered very impolite
[576] to ask a man about ownership of goats (cf. p. 41 f.). The cuts illustrated Fig. 100 are all family marks
[602] so that each mark is used by several patrilineally related persons. But though the Tuareg know their
goats and sheep by sight a small and not very deep cut is frequently added to indicate individual
422 ownership. The earmarks are preferably cut when kids and lambs are weaned (cf. p. 37) at which
*233 time superfluous male animals should also be castrated (cf. p. 118). All true vassals of Ahaggar mark
565 their donkeys with earmarks similar to those used for goats and sheep, though in one vassal tribe
(the *Dag Ṛali*) donkeys are also branded with a redhot iron, like camels. The noble Tuareg of Ahaggar

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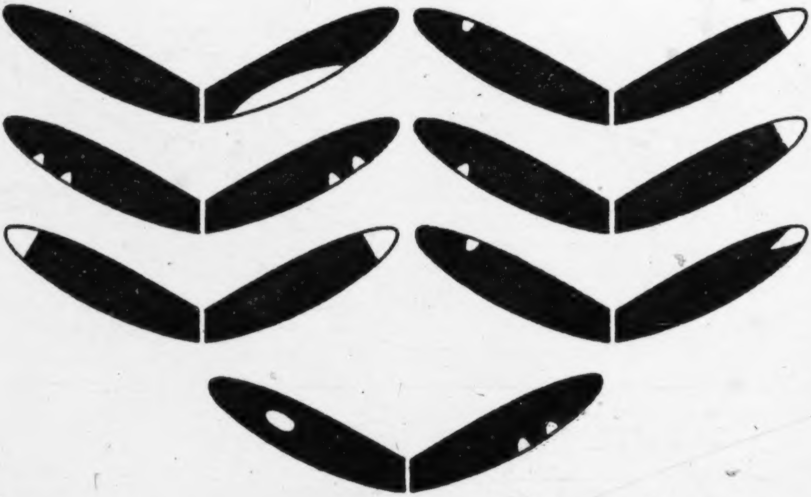

Fig. 100. Earmarks of the types used for goats and sheep among the Northern Tuareg. Ahaggar, the tribes *Dag Ṛali* and *Aġuh-en-tehlé*.

422
*233 never use earmarks for donkeys which are branded like their camels, and I believe that this rule also
● 565 holds for the *Iseḳḳemaren* Tuareg, though I do not know this to be true for tribes other than those of *Kel Terurit* and *Kel-I-n-tunin*.

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*233 The property brands of the Northern Tuareg are burned into the skin of the camel (donkey) by
[413] means of a redhot iron known as *éndel* (Figs. 102a–b), but if this implement is not available another piece of iron is used, e.g., the iron tripod for suspension of kettles and cooking pots. The brands are known as *ahwalen* (sing. *éhwel*), and there are a great many different ones which have their particular
422 names. These brands are frequently depicted in literature (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 629 f.; Lhote
*233 1955a, p. 235), and spoken of as "tribal brands". However, as property marks are patrilineally
614 inherited while tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, the members of the same
[582] tribe will possess more than one camel-brand. For marriages are contracted between different tribes, though some of these units are predominantly endogamous. Furthermore there are a few Tuareg who
[772] use different camel-brands for camels inherited from the father and the mother, as there are some who have adopted the mother's father's brand because their father's brand was believed to have brought bad luck in camel-breeding. For these reasons there are frequently more than one brand within a
[613] tribe, and individuals or small patrilineages generally add to their main brand (*éhwel*) a supplementary brand known as azezlu.

422 *233 614 brand known as *aẓeẓlu*. To illustrate all this I reproduce the camel-brands used within three tribes of Ahaggar (Fig. 101 a–c).

614 192 The term *tawsit*, which is the Tuareg word generally applied to the unit here called a tribe, seems to have the meaning of "a hand-root from which fingers issue". But the word may have other meanings, e.g., "a mat (*tésebert*) plaited from *afeẓu*-grass" (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1533). The latter meaning intimates something kept firmly together, while the word *tawsit* in its first sense seems to indicate a lineage structure. I have sometimes heard Tuareg indicate tribal relationship between two persons saying that they belong to the same hand (*afus*), or that they are of the same root (*éké*, that is the root of a tree). There are other words which are sometimes used for "tribe". One term is *tekḳebilt*, another is *aṛref*, but the meaning of these words seems to be the more general one of "people" or "race". An interesting word, namely *hama*, which has the definite meaning of "mother's kin", is according to Foucauld also used synonymously with "tribe" (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 603), but according to information I have gathered in Ahaggar these two words are not entirely synonymous.

614 It is most remarkable that the Ahaggar Tuareg do not follow any particular rule for the naming of tribes. Some tribes are named after an ancestress (e.g., *Kel Ṛela* = *Kel Kella*, that is "people descending from the woman *Kella*"), while other tribes have avuncular names (e.g., *Téġehé-n-Éfis*, that is "the man *Éfis*'s sister's children"). Both these principles intimate that the tribe is a matrilineal unit, but certain tribes have patrilineal names much like those of Arab tribes (e.g., *Dag Ṛali*, that is "sons of the man *Ṛali*"; *Ayt Lowayen*, that is "sons of the man *Lowayen*"). Reference to an ancestor is also made in another way (e.g., *Ikadeyen*, that is "those descending from the man *Kadi*"). In addition we have tribal names which seem to be a kind of nick-names (e.g., *Aġuh-en-tehlé*, that is "the Achilles-tendon of *tehlé*" – the word *tehlé* being the name of a perennial plant (*Typha elephantina*), and we have geographical names (e.g., *Kel Ahnet*, that is "the people of the Ahnet country"; *Kel Taẓulet*, that is "people of the Taẓulet region", etc.).

614 611 565 Previously I have used the term "clan" for the Tuareg term *tawsit* in agreement with the fact that many people claim it to be a matrilineal unit (cf. Nicolaisen 1959). Thus the noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ṛela* tribe say that they all descend from the woman *Kella*, who lived about seven generations ago and had a maternal female cousin *Sakina* (or *Skina*) who became the ancestress of the other prominent noble tribe in Ahaggar named *Taytoḳ*.

The very numerous vassal tribe the *Aġuh-en-tehlé* is also said by its members to constitute a matrilineal unit. They claim descent from a common ancestress and occasionally use the name *Téġehé-n-Elimen* for their tribe. Actually the *Aġuh-en-tehlé* tribe falls into three sub-tribes known as *Kel Taġhawhawt*, *Isandan*, and *Kel Aṛefsa*. [613] They are said to be matrilineally related, but nobody is able to prove this genealogically, and among the *Isandan* there is a matrilineage of four generations which is matrilineally related to people of the *Ibettenaten* tribe and not to their fellow tribesmen.

Members of the important vassal tribe the *Dag Ṛali* will also frequently claim common matrilineal descent. However, they do not know the name of their proper ancestress. They say that they descend from a woman named *Takama* who was also the ancestress of the vassal tribes known as *Ayt Lowayen* and *Kel Ahnet*. The *Dag Ṛali* tribe was founded by the man *Ṛali* who lived about seven generations [613] ago. It falls into two halves known as the *Dag Ṛali* proper and the *Imessiliten*. Some Tuareg of the

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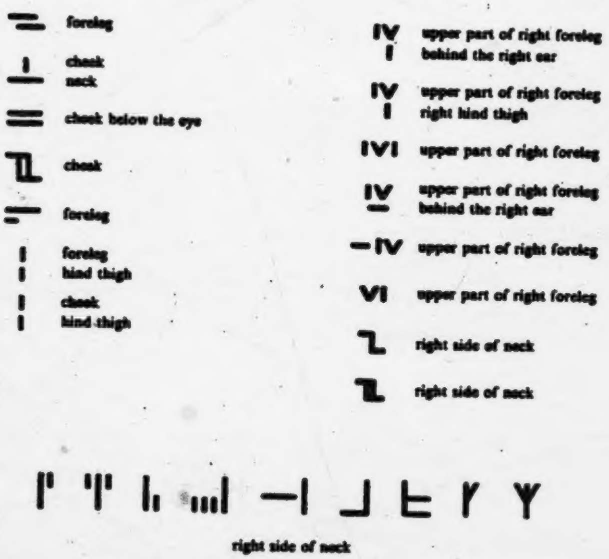
foreleg
cheek
neck
cheek below the eye
cheek
foreleg
foreleg
hind thigh
cheek
hind thigh
upper part of right foreleg
behind the right ear
upper part of right foreleg
right hind thigh
upper part of right foreleg
upper part of right foreleg
behind the right ear
upper part of right foreleg
upper part of right foreleg
right side of neck
right side of neck
right side of neck

Fig. 101 a–c. Camel-brands of three Ahaggar tribes.

a. Brands of the *Kel Ṛela* tribe.

b. Brands of the *Aġuh-en-tehlé* tribe. The main brand of this tribe is V called *tamassort*. The brands ꓶ & ꓶ are due to intermarriage with the *Iklan-en-tawsit* tribe where the principal brand is ꓶ called *ameslaġ*.

c. Brands of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. The main brand characteristic of this tribe is | placed on the right side of the camel's neck. This brand was that used by the founder of the tribe named *Ṛali* and to-day it forms part of most *Dag Ṛali* brands which are always placed on the right side of the camel's neck. The *Dag Ṛali* brands have individual names. The last one is known as *tékkilt n aṛaleġ*, that is "the raven's foot". [532]

*Dag Ṛali* tribe may claim that these two halves are matrilineally related to one another, but also that 614
they do not descend from sisters. It seems in fact as if these two halves stand in a cross-cousin relation- 611
ship to one another, and it is in agreement with this that the *Dag Ṛali* proper speak of the *Imessiliten* 565●
as "children of their mother's brother". The two halves in the past intermarried much though marriages 613
between them are very rare nowadays. Thus in 1951 there were only two marriages between people [602]
of the two tribal halves. [582]

I believe that other tribes of Ahaggar have a structure similar to that of the *Dag Ṛali*, but the [114]
structure of Tuareg tribes is extremely difficult to grasp because very few Tuareg know their genealogies
more than three or four generations back.

614 Should a man descend from a father and a mother of different tribes he will start his life as a member
591 of the father's tribe and end as a member of the mother's tribe. However, a man who descends from
such a mixed marriage will, even as a member of his father's tribe, have an intimate connection with
[682] the tribe of his mother. Thus it is said that if, in the past, a man of a mixed marriage between two
[672] tribes lived in his father's tribe and had to pay blood-wealth for a murder, his mother's tribe should
pay half of the blood-wealth, while in case his father had died and he lived in his mother's tribe his
father's tribe should not contribute.

614 Tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and though we cannot characterize a
611 tribe as a pure matrilineal unit the matrilineal principle plays a great part in tribal organization. It is
[428] valid for succession to tribal chieftainship, for succession to land-rights and to property considered
● [565] indivisible; in noble tribes it is also valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, in
vassal tribes for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. These rules have been strictly followed
614 by most Tuareg tribes of Ahaggar up to modern times. Within all tribes there seems to be one par-
613 ticular matrilineage from which the tribal chief should be elected. Thus in the vassal tribe of *Dag Ṛali*
the chief must be elected from the *Dag Ṛali* proper, while a man descending from the ancestress of the
tribal half known as *Imessiliten* cannot become elected chief. In the *Aġuh-en-tehlé* tribe the supreme
chief of the three sub-tribes should be elected according to matrilineal rules within the *Kel Taṛhawhawt*
sub-tribe.

614 Tribes are territorial units. The dominant noble tribes have as their territory the very large area
565 which is divided into territories of vassal tribes within their drum-group. Several vassal tribes are
631 named after the territory where they live, and the vassal tribes which have ancestral names are also
423 attached to a particular territory. The Tuareg frequently speak of "*amaḍal n Dag Ṛali*", "*amaḍal n
Aġuh-en-tehlé*", etc., that is "the land of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe", "the land of the *Aġuh-en-tehlé* tribe",
etc., though they do not claim that these tribes own the particular territories but merely that they have
[643] particular rights to them. For the land of these tribes is owned by their drum-chief, the *Amenukal* of
Ahaggar. It is stated in literature that such tribal territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively
for members of tribes. Lhote says that nobody has the rights to graze flocks and herds in the territories
of foreign tribes without permission from their chiefs or from the *Amenukal* (Lhote 1955a, p. 279).
Kilian also mentions that tribal territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study
by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339).
[162] Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a tribe as mentioned by Capot-
Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265 f.), and it is said that this could also happen in the past. The territory
[578] of a tribe was possibly once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but it is said that one of the
*Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in the past decided that grazing should be free all over the country as
the division of the country into tribal grazing grounds gave rise to much inter-tribal trouble.

614 A tribe is always subdivided into sections which with few exceptions have geographical names –
613 generally the names of important river valleys in the usual camping area. The number of such sections
621 within a tribe varies. In the numerous vassal tribe *Aġuh-en-tehlé* there are eight sections while the *Dag
Ṛali* tribe has four sections. These sections are kin groups with a depth of 4–6 generations, and
within a section there is always a dominant matrilineage from which the section leader, who is

221 many tribes of the northern desert, and migrations are on the whole independent of caravan trading.
[241] Migrations are to some extent determined by agriculture in cases where the households possess
[423] irrigated gardens cultivated on their behalf by the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaṛen*). Some goat-camps may move
their tents close to the agricultural settlements when wheat and barley are harvested in April. Date
● [565] palm-owning Tuareg of two vassal tribes (*Iklan-en-tawsit* and *Ikechchemaḍen*) will also visit the oases
[245] of Silet and Tibeghin where dates are harvested in August and September. But the Tuareg visiting
these oases will generally not take flocks and tents with them when collecting their dates, which are
* [233] harvested mainly by black-skinned *Ḥarratin* of Abalessa. It should once more be mentioned that most
Ahaggar tribes in dry years keep their camel herds outside of Ahaggar – mainly in Tamesna – and
the members of a section have their herds guarded collectively in these distant regions.

423 The territory of a vassal tribe is generally divided into sub-areas, the right to which is vested in
311 individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an
economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for
the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for the collection of wild seeds,
or have soil and water suitable for agriculture. A few areas possess all these qualities. I have studied
614 the division of the tribal territory into sub-areas only in the two tribes *Dag Ṛali* and *Aġuh-en-tehlé*.
613 In the *Aġuh-en-tehlé* tribe there is a certain correspondance between sections and sub-areas in the
423 way that most sub-areas belong to individuals of the matrilineage which forms the core of a particular
section. Consequently the Tuareg of the *Aġuh-en-tehlé* tribe sometimes speak of sub-areas as section
territories. However, two tribal sections living outside the tribal territory have no particular sub-areas,
and one section has two sub-areas, the rights to which are vested in two individual tenants
(cf. p. 149). In the *Dag Ṛali* tribe there are more sub-areas than tribal sections, and some sub-areas
have two tenants who belong to distinct tribal sections, members of which all have the right to use
[428] these sub-areas (cf. p. 148). When a tenant dies his rights to a sub-area should be taken over by a
maternal kinsman who lives in the section to which he belongs matrilineally. Tenants of sub-areas are
[243] frequently section-leaders. In the lists p. 148–149 where I mention the sub-areas in the *Dag Ṛali* and
*Aġuh-en-tehlé* tribes are indicated the names of tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual
land-rent paid to the *Amenukal*, who is the true master of the land inhabited by tribes of the *Kel
Ṛela* drum-group.

423 For the land-rent (*éhéré-n-amaḍal*) paid to the *Amenukal* the tenants obtain the following rights
422 over their sub-areas:—

(1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

(2) They have the right to half of all the wild donkeys caught in their areas.

[224] (3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant, while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81; Foley 1930, p. 43 f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide,

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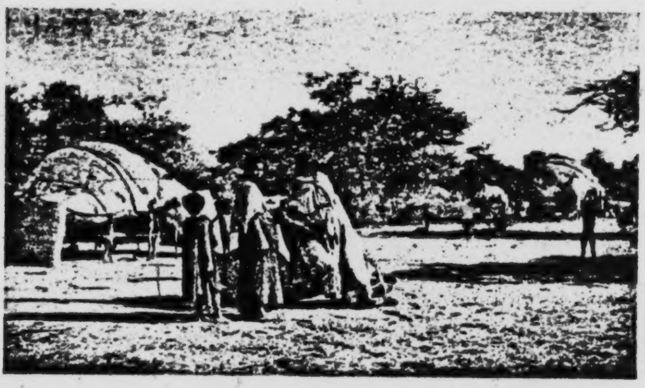

Fig. 109. A family camp of four mat-covered barrel-vaulted tents. Ayr, the *Igendéynen* tribe.

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*233 donkeys by certain Ayr Tuareg are most interesting. Though such marks are used by many tribes there does not seem to be a great variety of them, and I have noted only the following marks:—

●[565] (1) *tallayt*, that is the tip of right ear cut off while a slit is cut into the left ear. This mark is said to be used by all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group, but the members of the two tribes *Kel Akerra* and *Imezzureg*, who claim to be noble by origin, have an additional brand burned into the left hind thigh close to the animal's anus. This brand is called *ekomed.*

[565] (2) two slits in the animal's left ear. Though different from the mark just mentioned it is said also to be called *tallayt*. It is used by the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg (the *Irawatten*), and also by the negroid *Irawélen* who in the past were once slaves of the nobility.

(3) *tabelechchat*, that is one slit in the left ear. This mark is used by the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg who are politically attached to the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg.

[428]
[772] Though all property marks are patrilineally inherited it may happen in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, that a Tuareg use two marks. For certain Tuareg will use the mother's father's mark for animals given them by their mother's family, other Tuareg have been brought up among matrilineal kinsmen whose mark they have adopted, and there are also people who have adopted their mother's family mark because they believed that their father's mark brought them bad luck in camel-breeding.

614 The Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group fall into a number of units which are known by the word *tawchit*. It seems to have much the same meaning as the word *tawsit* of Northern Tuareg dialect, but is also used to designate the so-called spiked wheel-trap. I call these units for tribes as they do not seem to correspond to unilateral descent groups. Many tribes have a tradition of their descent from a common ancestress, but though tribal members may know her name they are never able to connect her with their genealogies which are very badly known. To my knowledge there are no tribes of true Ayr Tuareg that are named after an ancestress or have avuncular names. The Ayr tribes have geographical names or are called after an ancestor to whom they are also unable to connect their [591] genealogies. It is possible that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in the past have followed the rules of residence

outlined above from Ahaggar, with the exception that the Ayr Tuareg have never practised the one 614
year's stay in the bride's family camp after marriage. To-day the *Kel Ferwan* tribes of Southern Ayr 591
do not follow very strictly any particular rule of residence. There is a strong tendency to patrilocal
residence, but a man will usually continue to live with kinsmen of the camp where he was brought
up as a child. If a man has grown up with maternal relatives owing to the loss of his father as a boy,
or because his mother and father have divorced, he may remain with matrilineal relatives. I believe 614
that all tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group of Southern Ayr are bilateral kin groups. And if in the past 582
these Tuareg practised the rules of residence outlined above from Ahaggar, the tribes have been bilateral units as there have always been many marriages contracted between people of different tribes.
Two tribes of Ayr, namely the *Imezzureg* and the *Kel Akerra*, claim that they have intermarried regularly
from very ancient times, because the father of the *Kel Akerra* tribe was the brother of the mother of
the *Imezzureg* tribe, while the father of the *Imezzureg* was a cross-cousin of *Kel Akerra*'s mother.
These two tribes possess their individual chiefs, but have always been very mixed. It seems as if chiefs 614
were elected according to matrilineal rules in the past, but to-day it is claimed that a son of a deceased
chief should be the first in line of succession (cf. p. 456 ff.).

In Southern Ayr camps of all possible tribes to-day live among each other. There are no grazing 614
grounds or particular territories nowadays when everybody is free to go where he likes with flocks 423
and herds. No Tuareg have particular rights over land, and ban on grazing within certain areas, as in [361]
Ahaggar, is unknown. This is said also to have been the case in the past. But in the times preceding [565] ●
the French occupation of Ayr, all vassal tribes had their particular territories which, according to
Capot-Rey, were formerly marked by walls (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265). I have not been able to confirm
this, but the Tuareg told me that in the past tribal territories had frontiers marked out by river valleys
or by natural objects such as large trees. The vassal tribes did not own these territories, which were [643]
allotted them by the drum-chief of the noble *Kel Ferwan* tribe, the *Irawatten*. The traditional territories
or grazing grounds of most *Kel Ferwan* tribes are indicated in the list on p. 423 ff.

At present there seem to be no sectional division of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes corresponding to the 614
division into sections in Ahaggar. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg generally live in small camps comprising 621
a few tents. These camps, which co-operate in stock-herding, do not generally exceed four or five tents [596]
inhabited by kinsmen who generally constitute an extended family, e.g., (1) husband, wife, married
sons, and their children; (2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children; (3) a brother
and a sister together with their spouses and children; (4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband. These small camps, [591]
as may be seen, are not based upon any particular rule of residence in agreement with what has been
said of residence rules above. The households of a little camp of this kind will remain constantly [476]
together to co-operate not only in goat-herding, but generally in camel-breeding also. The labour for [233] *
camel-herding and caravan trading is more easily provided for in Ayr than in Ahaggar. For camels [484]
are rarely taken to very distant grazing grounds, and caravan trading is often limited to expeditions
to Damergu where the Tuareg fetch their millet. The Tuareg tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group living
around Agadez have no true co-operative units apart from the small camps of up to four or five tents.
Such small camps of extended families may temporarily join each other in a bigger camp during the 381
621

361 *akasa* period when there is green annual pasture, but the large camps have no co-operative functions
621 and no particular leader. The small camps join together to form big camps because their members
are linked to each other by bonds of kinship, and consequently like to come together.

361 Most of the year the Ayr Tuareg live in very small camps around wells, and certain camps remain
221 on almost the same spot throughout the year. However, most camps move about in the *akasa* period,
and later, at the end of the rains, many camps move southwards and westwards to the salt plains of
Azawaγ.

## DIVISION OF LABOUR IN STOCK-BREEDING

462 Before we consider other activities, we shall briefly describe the division of labour in stock-breeding
according to sex.

462 In all Tuareg groups noble women do very little work. They engage in a few very esteemed crafts
●565 such as embroidery, neat decoration of leather work, and in the north they cut ornamented milk-
[567] bowls from wood. The true domestic duties of a noble household are performed by slaves. This to
some extent is also true of other social classes among the Northern Tuareg, while the Ayr Tuareg
vassals have very few slaves nowadays. But even in vassal camps among the Northern Tuareg women
462 have their duties and engage in all kinds of domestic work, also in stock-breeding. In the two groups
*233 of Northern Tuareg the division of work in stock-breeding can be seen when one enters a tent of a
342 vassal camp:—

[566] One half of the tent (the left part) is occupied by the woman and contains such implements as are connected with tanning, leather-work, cooking, butter- and cheese-making, and generally all implements connected with the breeding of goats, sheep, and donkeys. The other half of the tent (the right part), occupied by the husband, contains saddles and all other objects connected with camels. The tending of goats, sheep, and donkeys is the task of women, while camel-breeding is the business of men.

462 Before initiation Tuareg boys may be occupied with herding goats, sheep, and donkeys, but when
*233 they have adopted the veil they should preferably take care of camels only. There are, however, a
[857] few occasions where men engage in tasks connected with goats and donkeys:—

Goats like any other animal can be killed only by adult men, who also undertake the skinning and partition of the meat.

Castration of he-goats and rams may be done by men, but it is said that it is also performed by women.

When goats suffer from certain diseases they may in a few very special cases be taken care of by men. Thus when a goat has broken a leg and wooden splints are applied to the fracture this is generally performed by the husband of the household to which the animal belongs.

When goats and sheep are lost in the desert they may be searched for by men mounted on camels.

On the whole there are not many situations where the assistance of men is needed in tending goats and sheep, and most men have so little to do with goat-breeding that they do not know the exact meaning of many colour terms for goats.

462 231 [492] Among Northern Tuareg vassals donkeys are tended by women, who use them for riding and transportation over short distances. Tuareg men rarely ride donkeys, but the assistance of men is needed in connection with some of the tasks of donkey-breeding:—

It may become desirable to increase the stock of donkeys by catching wild animals as already described above. This is always done by men who also break-in the captured animals for riding. The assistance of men is also frequently needed for catching half-wild, though domesticated donkeys.

The marking of donkeys, castration, which is rarely performed, and the curing of diseases, which are also rare, are said to be tasks which should properly be carried out by men.

● [565] Vassal women only tend camels when all men are absent from their camp.

The above rules of division of labour are in general also valid in Ayr among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. But there are in Ayr vassal Tuareg who have no camels and vassal men in Ayr frequently ride donkeys. The tending of cows in Ayr is mainly the work of women, who are also more familiar with cattle terms than are the men. – Among the *Kel Ewey* the skinning of goats and sheep, as well as the partition of the meat, are done by women.

428 In the Tuareg groups I have studied both men and women inherit camels, goats, sheep, and donkeys according to Islamic rules of inheritance.

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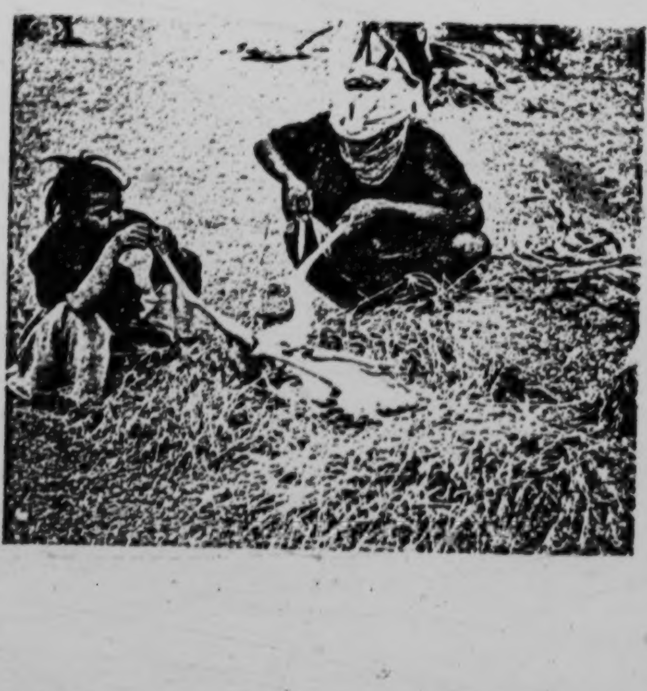

**Fig. 110.** The skinning of a gazelle placed upon straw of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ahaggar, the *Taytoḳ* tribe.

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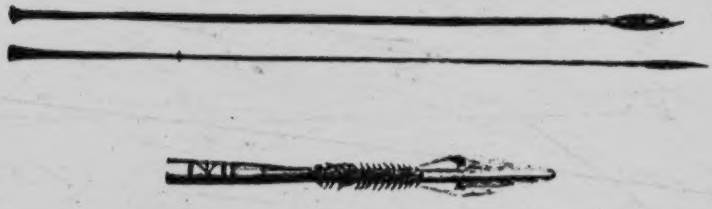

Fig. 112a–c. Tuareg spears.

a. Spear of the *taṛda* type used for hunting. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 1.[illegible] m (N.M. G. 1.156).

b. Iron spear of the *allaṛ* type which is mainly a war weapon. Ahaggar, Collected by [illegible]. Dimension 1.82 m (N.M. G. 1.155).

c. Iron point of the barbed Tebu lance (*taṛda*) occasionally used by the Ayr Tuareg. Dimension: 0.265 m (N.M. G. 6619).

224 they are eagerly pursued by many rifle-owning nomads. Lhote estimates that in the year 1939 the Ahaggar Tuareg killed 300 barbary sheep by means of their traditional hunting methods, while in the winter season 1949–50 more than 200 animals were killed with rifles in the central parts of Ahaggar [432] (Lhote 1955a, p. 284). In 1954 the meat of one barbary sheep was sold for 4000 French francs, the [648] hide for 2000 francs. Though hunting of these animals is officially prohibited by the French, it *is* tacitly permitted and meat is frequently sold at the market place of Tamanṛaset.

The traditional methods used mainly in hunting gazelle and barbary sheep are as follows:—

[411] (1) The spear (*taṛda;* Fig. 112a) is nowadays used mainly by slaves, who never possess rifles. Before [562] rifles became common it was the typical hunting weapon of all vassal Tuareg. Hunting with the spear [565] takes place during the hottest time of the day, when the animals hide under rocks and trees to seek protection from the burning sun and the flies. It is then possible to creep very close to the game, and even the otherwise very shy barbary sheep can be taken in this way. When the hunter is close to the hiding place of a barbary sheep he claps his hand, and the animal rises, bewildered, and is then speared. In the past many barbary sheep were killed in this way, and it is said that a skilled and lucky hunter may even secure four or five animals in one day.

[171] (2) The use of stalking animals. Hunting by this method is used by some African stock-breeders (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 97 ff.). There is a detailed description of the use of camels trained for this purpose among the Arabs of the Northern Sahara (Harding King 1903, p. 171 ff.). As far as I know the Ahaggar Tuareg do not train their camels for stalking, but on journeys they frequently hide behind their animals to approach and kill gazelle. In this case the hunting weapon is normally a rifle. But the method is perhaps an ancient one and used also for other hunting weapons in the past, as game animals do not fear domestic animals among which they frequently graze in the desert. In fact, [172] the ancient use of stalking animals in Northern Africa is clearly substantiated by a rock engraving at

224 on sandy ground. This same method is also used to catch asses or wild donkeys for domestication (cf. p. 108).

(7) It has been mentioned above (p. 108) that wild donkeys are also caught by driving them into closed valleys from which they cannot escape. As far as I know the Ahaggar Tuareg do not hunt proper game animals in this way, but the driving method is used in fishing as described below (cf. p. 164).

(8) The spiked wheel-trap (*éfetaw*) (Fig. 113) connected with a noosed rope (*taṛant*) attached to a piece of wood (*agula*) is used to catch gazelle, barbary sheep, and donkeys. Such traps are easily and quickly manufactured by the Tuareg, and when they want to trap gazelle in this way they make a great many traps which are placed in the sand around young acacias upon which the animals feed. 243 The arrangement of the spiked wheel-trap is brilliantly illustrated in literature (cf. Lhote 1951a, photos p. 112–113; Brouin 1950, p. 454).

(9) A torsion trap (*tenḍerbat*) provided with a noosed rope is used particularly for barbary sheep. This trap is also depicted in literature (Lhote 1951a, p. 113; Mérite 1942, p. 185). The trap is rare in Ahaggar nowadays. The Ahaggar Tuareg claim that the trap was introduced from Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas. It is said to be unknown to the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (cf. Fig. 114a).

564 177 The Ahaggar Tuareg nowadays engage little in trapping in contrast to the negroid agriculturists (the *Ḥarratin*), most of whom have steel traps (*elkhenlyet*) manufactured in Europe, or made by native blacksmiths on the European pattern. A few agriculturists have large steel traps to be used for gazelle, barbary sheep, and even for the big gazelle and antelope, but the common steel traps are small and are used mainly for hares (*émerwel*, fem. *témerwelt; abeknl*; *Lepus harterti*), jackals (*ébeggi, aggur; Thos aureus* sp.), and fennecs (*akhorhi, éṛechter*; *Fennecus zerda*). Still smaller traps are used for minor 223 rodents (*éḍewi*; *Gerbillus gerbillus*?) (*akundar*; *Masoutiera* sp.) and for certain birds such as ravens (*aṛaleg, taslaft*; *Corvus ruficollis ruficollis*), pigeons (*akekkemaẓ*; *Columbia livia targia*), turtle-doves (*tédebirt*; *Streptopelia turtur hoggara*), and sand grouse (*tékaḍewt, tédebirt*; *Pterocles* sp.).

Steel traps are now widely used, and traditional trapping methods for small animals and birds are therefore rarely resorted to. Among the *Kel Ajjer* small rodents are caught in snares (*asendi*) made of leather. Snares of this kind are known both to pastoral Tuareg and to sedentary agriculturists of Ġanet and Ṛat. Among the latter there are also two different trap-systems used for small rodents, which in both systems are killed by a flat, heavy stone falling upon them. One of these traps is named *téselselt*. I do not know whether these traps exist in Ahaggar.

223 564 Small birds, including pigeons and turtle-doves, are caught in torsion traps by sedentary agriculturists of the oases. Traps of this kind, which are normally provided with a net (cf. Fig. 114b), are found in most oases of the Northern and Central Sahara, but I have never seen them in use among pastoral Tuareg. Pigeon, turtle-dove, sand grouse, and also partridge (*Alectoris barbara duprezi*) are caught in snares made of hair. Ten or twenty of these snares (*éġefey*) are attached to a string so that several birds can be taken at the same time. Bird-snaring is practised mainly by sedentary agriculturists.

262 565 Sedentary agriculturists, slaves, and some vassal Tuareg are not squeamish. Even meat of beasts and birds of prey is eaten by certain vassals, though such animals are unclean and inedible according to Islamic rules. The meat of fennecs, jackals, and a large eagle-like bird known as *tamikkla* is eaten

[text continues on p. 162]

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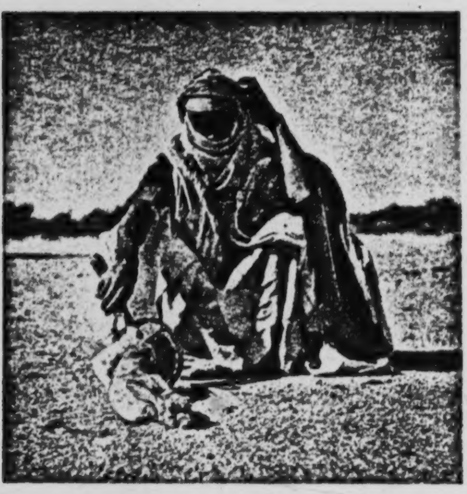

Fig. 115. Negroid agriculturist (*Ḥartani*) with a hare caught in a steel-trap (*elkheniyet*) of European type. Ahaggar.

262 by many people in vassal tribes, and jackal's meat is popular as it is considered an excellent remedy
565 against fever (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 146). But there are also many Tuareg who refuse all types of game
757 with the exception of such animals as gazelle, barbary sheep, and antelope. Some Tuareg consider hare's meat unlawful, but this, perhaps, is a conception introduced with Islam, for many people of the religious *Ineslemen* class claim that hare should not be eaten because their blood resembles that of menstruating women. The food taboos strictly followed by all noble Tuareg are older than Islam: they never eat birds, eggs, reptiles, and fish.

These rules are not traditional for vassal Tuareg, though some of them have adopted the taboos of the noble Tuareg.

224 In Northern Tuareg areas two big lizzard types are found. One of them is called *aggezzeram* (*dobb*
564 in Arabic; *Uromastix acanthinurus*). This is caught and eaten by slaves, agriculturists, and by many
565 vassals. It is frequently taken by hand, but there is also a special implement (*taskumt*, *takoḍa*) consisting
262 of a stick provided with an iron crook for catching lizzards hiding in holes and under rocks. When
432 vassal Tuareg are able to catch a great many *agezzeram*-lizzards they cut them up and dry them for
464 sale on their regular trading expeditions in autumn to the sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt (cf. p. 210). The *agezzeram*-lizzard is said to be the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the negroid blacksmiths (*Ineḍen*), because the lizzard's tail resembles a file. I do not know whether the few blacksmiths found in Northern Tuareg country eat this lizzard, but do not think they do. The lizzard is not considered very delicious, and blacksmiths have emigrated from the south where it is not generally eaten.

The other edible lizzard is named *aṛata* (*Varanus* sp.). It is much bigger than the *agezzeram*-lizzard just mentioned, and its meat is excellent according to the taste of most Europeans. But this big lizzard

is refused by noble Tuareg and in general also by vassals. One reason for this is that the Tuareg have 224
a myth saying that the *aɼata*-lizzard is the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the noble Tuareg. Some 565
vassals claim that it is the ancestor of all true Tuareg, but this statement does not agree with mythology 564
(cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 61). However, this lizzard is eaten mainly by slaves and by certain agriculturists, 262
though its meat is considered a remedy against snake-bite and scorpion stings (cf. Lhote 1951a 257
p. 168 f.). The head of an *aɼata* is considered an excellent amulet against these poisonous animals 257
(Lhote 1951 a, p. 168 f.), and the skin of this lizzard is not only utilized for the manufacture of amulet 237
cases but also for small bags of various types (Fig. 116a).

Small animals are not necessarily killed with any particular hunting implement. The animals may 224
be taken with the hand or killed with sticks and stones, as is the case with the hedgehog (*ékenisi*, 262
*tékenisit*), which is eaten by some people, and with small rodents. Even hares can be taken with the hand when they hide in the grass or under rocks. The hunter may then approach the hare swinging one of his sandals over his head. This, it is said, makes the animals believe that it is hunted by a hawk or an eagle, and it will therefore remain stubbornly in its hiding place. Even gazelle are sometimes taken without any proper hunting weapon. Some Tuareg say that on journeys through the barren desert country in the summer they have met gázelle so exhausted from thirst that they could take these animals with their hands. Although this is rarely possible, I know Tuareg who have crept up to gazelle hiding from the sun in daytime and killed them with a stone. Finally it can be mentioned that the

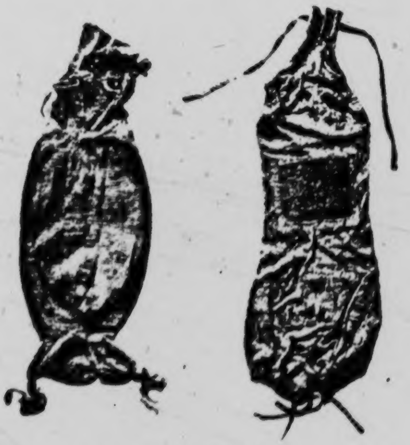

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Fig. 116a–b. Two small skin bags.

a. **Skin bag (*abelboɖ n aɼata*) made from the skin of the big *aɼata* lizzard (*Varanus* sp.). Ahaggar, *Ḥarratin* of Taɼhawhawt. Dimension: 0.325 m long. (N.M. G. 5834).**

b. **Skin bag (*abelboɖ n témerwelt*) made from hare-skin. Ahaggar, bought from *Ḥarratin* at Taɼhawhawt, manufactured in the *Aɣub-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.350 m long. (N.M. G. 5833).**

224 [829] Tuareg are also aware of the use of poison. I have gathered no information about this myself, but Lhote states that certain poisonous grain is used for the destruction of jackals and small rodents (Lhote 1951a, p. 43 f. & 132).

226 It is obvious that fishing cannot be an important industry to people of the Sahara, but fishing is practised in certain areas. One species of fish (*Clarias Lazera*) is found in a few permanent pools of Central Ahaggar, but it is particularly common in the numerous permanent ponds of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, where there is also another, perch-like species. I have myself caught and eaten both species. Duveyrier states that there are three distinct species in Tasilé-n-Ajjer:— (1) *asoulmeh* (*asulmey*) (*Clarias Lazera*); (2) *isattafen* (*i-settefen*); (3) *imanan* (pl. *imenan*) (Duveyrier 1864, p. 227, 238). Fishing is described [262] [565] by Duveyrier as follows: "Les poissons des lacs de Mlhero donnent lieu à une pêche qui contribue à l'alimentation des serfs riverains. A cet effet, ils creusent sur les bords des lacs de petits canaux étroits, aboutissant à des réservoirs dans lesquels les poissons viennent pour y chercher une nourriture qu'ils ne trouvent pas dans les profondeurs des lacs. Quand ils y sont entrés on renferme les conduits et on les prend" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 238 f.). Another fishing method is described by Lhote: "Ils construisent des espèces de fascines avec des tiges de mrokba ou des branches de tamarix, puis, entrant à plusieurs dans l'eau ils forment une espèce de barrage au moyen de ces fascines en les mettant bout à bout et les poussent ensuite doucement devant eux. Ils prennent bien soin de drainer le fond de sorte que le poisson soit systématiquement chassé. Lorsqu'ils arrivent près de la rive opposée à celle d'où ils sont partis, ils poussent rapidement par un dernier effort et éjectent le poison sur le sable ou ils le ramassent. Ils recommencent ce manège plusieurs fois jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient capturé la majorité des poissons" (Lhote 1951a, p. 53). In Tasilé-n-Ajjer I was told about a third fishing method, namely the use of a piece of cotton (e.g., an old cotton shirt) attached to two poles. The cotton piece serves as a net over which the fish are fed. There seem to be no other fishing methods, as both the fish-hook and the harpoon are unknown.

## AYR

136 The Ayr Massif with adjacent plains is very rich in game in comparison with the true desert country inhabited by the Northern Tuareg. Barbary sheep (*éjital*; *Ammotragus lervia Angusi*) are common in the mountains and also south of the Massif around the cliff known as *Falaise de Tigeddi*. Gazelle (*achenkod*; *Gazella dorcas* sp.) (*énir*; *Gazella dama permista*) and the addax antelope (*amellul*; *Addax nasomaculatus*), which are found in Northern Tuareg countries, are more abundant in Ayr where there are also bigger types of game, notably the oryx antelope (*ézem*; *Aegoryx algazel algazel*), and the giraffe (*amder*; *Giraffa camelopardalis*) which is found south and southwest of the Massif (e.g., around Ingal and Aderbissinat). The ostrich (*énhal*; *Struthio camelus*) is still very common in isolated regions of Ayr including the northern outskirts of the mountains, where I have seen flocks of more than twenty birds. There are in Ayr as mentioned above (p. 31) many bird species which are unknown or rare further north in the desert, e.g., the guinea fowl (*taylalt*; *Numida clappertoni clappertoni*) and a bustard species (*agayis*; *Choriotis arabs stieberi*). Game birds are extremely abundant in certain parts of Ayr. The birds come in amazing numbers to waterholes and open wells to drink in the evening at

*ajako.* According to Foucauld a small annual edible plant growing in the Ahaggar Mountains at an 222
altitude above 2000 metres (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 712). Maire mentions this plant as unindentified 262
(Maire 1933, p. 263).

Collecting is mainly the task of women, but males – particularly uninitiated boys and slaves – also 222
participate. Seed-plants are generally harvested by rubbing the ears of the plants between the fingers, [462]
but the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) is cut with a sickle (*amreh*; Fig. 143 a–b) to be thrashed and winnowed like wheat and barley. Edible roots are frequently collected merely by hand. However, a digging [412]
stick (*élaweg*; Fig. 123) provided with an iron point is also used to dig up certain wild plants such as *akahel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*) and similar root plants. This digging stick is characteristic of vassal [565]
women who use it for many different purposes, e.g., to make holes for tent poles.

The very best among the above mentioned seed-plants is the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*). Its seeds are collected or harvested by certain Tuareg inhabiting the lower parts of Ahaggar, but are important particularly to the Tuareg living in and around Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Within the Ahaggar Massif the most important seeds are those of *afeẓu* (*Panicum turgidum*) and *tawit* (*Chenopodium Vulvaria*).
The right to collect these seeds is free to everybody, and Tuareg of the *Abada* zone may send their [567]
slaves to the *Atakor* zone to collect *tawit*-seeds in the mountain plateau of Asekrem. The species of [221]
*afeẓu* and *tawit* are sometimes protected by an ban on grazing for three and two months respectively in order that their seeds may grow ripe for collecting. The right to put a ban on grazing of the two [423]
species belongs to the Tuareg in whom territorial rights of a sub-area are vested (cf. p. 150). It is said that under very favourable conditions a single household may collect some hundred kilos of seeds of the two plants mentioned. This may seem rather impressive, but even in good years when milk is [262]
abundant collecting will not provide pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar with sufficient vegetable food, for seeds of wild plants are far less nourishing than are grains of wheat, barley, and millet. The collecting of wild plants important for food is as dependent on climatic conditions as is stock-breeding. In dry years, when domestic animals yield little or no milk at all, there will also be no wild seeds for collecting.

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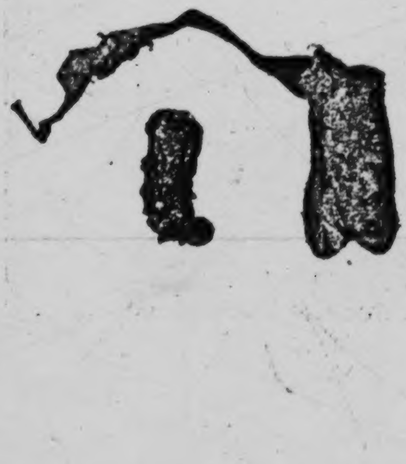

Fig. 127. Very small bag known as *élem* ("skin") made from a kid's scrotum (*tigassaté*). The bag contains a piece of resin of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*). This resin is eaten by the Tuareg as a remedy against stomachache. Ahaggar, the *Ağuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the piece of resin: 0.07 m long. (F.M. 149 a–b).

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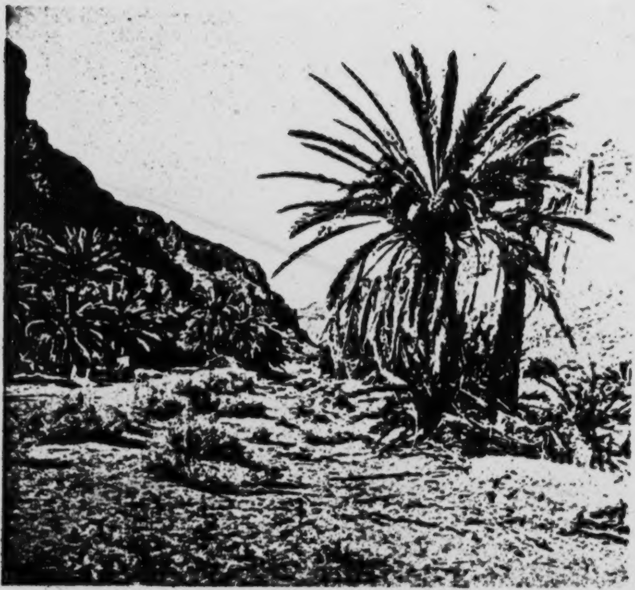

Fig. 130. Semi-wild date palms in the canyon-like Aharhar valley of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. The palms are owned and harvested by pastoral Tuareg.

245 (Aharhar and Éherir) where "semi-wild" palms are abundant. These palms are owned by pastoral
[221] Tuareg of various tribes. Their dates are harvested in the autumn when Tuareg palm owners with
[342] their slaves live in straw-huts or huts covered with palm leaves situated among the palm trees.

Similar plantations of palm trees which are left to themselves most of the year are also found in
245 Ahaggar, notably at Silet-Tibeghin. Part of these palms are owned by members of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe
423 (the sections of *Kel Tamanṛasset* and *Kel Terhenanet*) and by members of the very small tribe, the
[661] *Ikechchemaden*. The palm-owners give as an annual payment to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar one bunch
of dates from all palms which have more than two bunches. The yield of another part of the palms
[565] belongs to the vassal tribe *Iklan-en-tawsit* (the sections *Kel Silet* and *Kel Tahaḷra*). For usufructs,
[651] members of these two sections make a collective annual payments to the *Amenukal* comprising four
bags of dates, twenty goats, two ropes of goat's hair, and five water bags. The dates are harvested by
245
[221] Tuareg of the above mentioned tribes in August-September. Harvesting is done with sickles and is
finished in three to four weeks when the palm-owners return to their camps with dates packed in bags
[492] and loaded on donkeys and camels. In harvesting their dates most Tuareg are assisted by black-
[564] skinned agriculturists (*Ḥarratin*, or *Izeggaren*) of Abalessa who are given a certain amount of dates
[465] for their work. These agriculturists build the huts in which the palm-owners live during harvest (cf.
[463] p. 338 f.).

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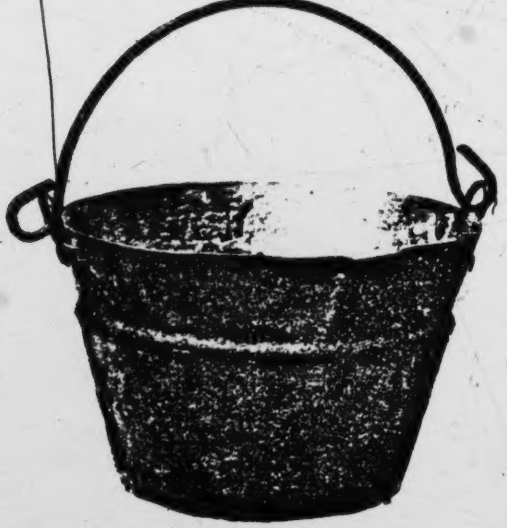

Fig. 164. Pail (*éṛir*) made from tinned brass by blacksmiths. It is used for storing butter to be used for food preparation in the tent. Pails of this type form part of the dowry in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanṛaṣet. Dimension: 0.155 m high, 0.230–0.235 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5820).

Whenever the Tuareg kill an animal for food 231
they perform a sacrifice, the idea of which seems to be an identification of the man and the killed animal. 782
This idea appears most clearly at the sacrifice made on the occasion of the name-giving feast seven 825
days after the birth of a child. A marabut, that is a Tuareg of the *Ineslemen* class, and the father of 553
the child stand close together with their faces towards Mecca while the animal to be sacrified is kept 782
to the ground. The marabut cuts the animal's throat and doing so cries out the name to be given to [565]
the child, and this name is thereupon repeated by the child's father. When the killing is performed in [412]
this way the knife (*elmusi* in Ahaggar; *ézegiz* in Ayr) and the cut across the throat are washed with
water before skinning is undertaken. I have dealt with certain ideas of Tuareg sacrifice elsewhere, 114
and have stated that on certain occasions they may sacrifice not to God but to the *Kel Asuf* spirits 782
(Nicolaisen 1961, p. 122 f., 147 f.). But whatever may be the ideas attached to Tuareg sacrifices all 231
animals, with the exception of the camel (cf. above p. 65), are killed by cutting their throat.

The methods of meat preparation are almost identical in Ayr and Ahaggar. The most common 252
method everywhere is cooking in an earthen pot, known in Ahaggar as *ufrun*, *téṛirt*, *alekkin*, or *talekkint* 415*
according to its size and form, or in a metal pot (*éṛir*) of European origin. Such European pots are [772]
common everywhere in Tuareg camps, but earthen pots are still used though less durable, for earthen
pots are cheap. Pots made of metal or copper, which are also known as *éṛiṛ*, were also found among

by blacksmiths (*Ineden*). Tuareg women wear certain stone ornaments which derive from prehistoric 301
finds or are introduced from other countries. But in Ahaggar I have collected one stone ornament, 301
or rather an amulet, which was said to have been manufactured by a Tuareg woman of the vassal 251
class. This stone amulet (*ameγwan*) (Fig. 201) may be described as a large bead or button pierced in [365]
the middle for the insertion of a leather strap. It is said to be used as an amulet against diseases of little children, who are also very fond of looking at the red-white stone material from which the amulet button is made. The hole for the little carrying strap is made by means of an awl known as *éndel* [412]
(Fig. 218b, p. 278). This stone amulet has been described elsewhere together with certain other stone [114]
ornaments used among the Ahaggar Tuareg (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, Fig. 6a–l p. 128 f., p. 139 f.).

Earthen pots are widely used by pastoral Tuareg even nowadays, though European metal vessels 415*
are available at the principal trading centres. They are particularly common in Ahaggar where the [484]
Tuareg take their earthen pots with them on donkey's back during nomadic migrations – the old
belief that pottery does not go with the roaming life of pastoralists is contrary to fact. However, metal [177]
vessels are, of course, more durable and will no doubt in a few years replace the earthen pots which
are not manufactured by pastoral Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their pots from the cultivation 323
centres where there are a few women who practise the art of pottery making. There are various types of [462]
pots (cf. Figs. 186, 187a–b) which are made from black clay (*talak*). The lowermost part of all pots is formed over the bottom of an old pot on which is placed a piece of moistened cotton in order that the clay shall not stick. The upper part of the pots is built up with the hands according to the well-known technique of the application of thin sausage-like strips of clay. This technique is also used for the manufacture of other containers such as earthen milk-bowls (*akus*) (Fig. 21a), incense jars (*elbakhkhar*)
(Fig. 203), and drums (*akralal, abakar*) (Fig. 202a–b). These latter types of pottery are not in general [184]
use among pastoral Tuareg but are common among sedentary agriculturists. The pottery made in

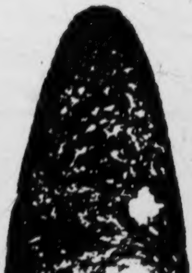

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Fig. 199. Neolithic stone axe known to the Tuareg as *tedeft n efenna*. Used as whetstone for iron knives. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehle* tribe. Dimension: 0.10 m long. (F.M. 109).

A photograph illustrating a women making a bag from spun hair is reproduced by Lhote, who states 286 that bags of this nature are rarely manufactured nowadays and are made exclusively by a few noble 415* women of the *Kel Ṛela* tribe (Lhote 1955a, p. 319 f., pl. XV p. 384). This statement does not agree 462 with information gathered by myself in Ahaggar, where I was told that bags were made from spun 565 ● hair by Tuareg women of other tribes and notably by women of the *Iseḳḳemaren* class. 114

In Ayr spinning of cotton is performed mainly to obtain sewing thread, which is considered superior 283 to European thread for sewing cotton clothes. To my knowledge most pastoral women do not spin [432] their own cotton thread but buy it at the market of Agadez. However I have noted the existence of simple cotton bows in a *Kel Tédalé* camp in the northern part of the Ayr Massif. The occurrence of [171] the simple cotton bow among the Ayr Tuareg should no doubt be viewed in connection with the use [248] of this implement in the Western Sudan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 260 ff.) from where the cotton plant [172] has also been introduced.

Coiled basket-work plays an important part with the Tuareg, particularly the Northern Tuareg 285 who are experts in this technique which is related to sewing. A very primitive type of coiled basketry

[824]

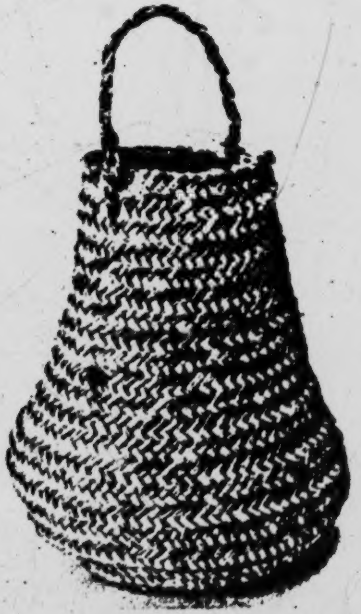

Fig. 211. Basket (*alegargar*) plaited from date palm leaves (*afuni*). The handle is of date palm bast (*asan*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.38 m high. (N.M. G. 3835).

[text continues on p. 269]

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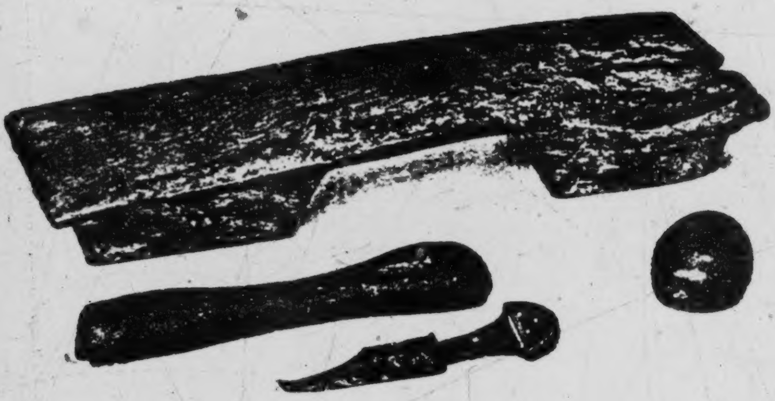

Fig. 219a–d. Implements used for skin and leather work in Ahaggar.

a. Wooden cutting board (*elkeyleb*). It is made from wood of the *taburaḳ* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). 0.480 m long. (N.M. G. 5867). [824]
b. Wooden implement (*asettenu*) for smoothing leather. Wood of the *taburaḳ* tree. Dimension: 0.248 m long. (N.M. G. 5868).
c. Heavy black stone (*taẓẓet*) with level under side. Used for smoothing leather. Dimension: 0.079 × 0.061 m. (N.M. G. 5873).
d. Knife (*telmusit*). Dimension: 0.163 m long. (N.M. G. 5869).
Manufactured and used by blacksmiths in Ahaggar, Abalessa.

The vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar use hairy skin for the manufacture of certain receptacles other than 281 water bags (cf. Figs. 111, 125). I have never seen hairy skin bags of this type in Ayr, and even in [565] ● Ahaggar most skin bags are made from depilated skins. In Ahaggar the hair is removed from the [415] * hide by means of a plant known as *tachkat* (*Pergularia tomentosa*). A bundle of this plant is dipped [824] into hot water and is rubbed against the inner side of the hide which is spread out over a large stone or a similar object. Even after one day the hair can then be removed by one or two women who pluck it with their fingers. In Ahaggar I have also been told by sedentary agriculturists that the hair can be removed by means of salt. The salt is placed upon the inner side of the hide and this treatment makes it possible to scrape away the hair by means of a knife or a stone. The Ayr Tuareg questioned about their methods of depilation place ashes from the fireplace on the inner side of the hide which after this treatment is covered with moistened sand for one day. After this treatment the hair is removed with a knife or simply with the fingers.

The tannin generally used by the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr for articles other than water bags 281
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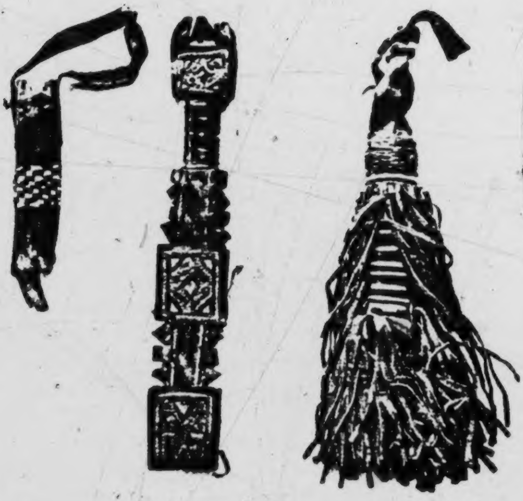

Fig. 228a–c.

a. A cylindrical hollowed piece of wood covered with leather. It is known as *tafendit* and serves to contain antimony (*tazult*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.22 m long. (N.M. G. 5875).

[824] b. Cylindrical brass tube covered with ornamented leather. It is known as *faralu wa n tuka* and serves for the conser-
[276] vation of *tuka*, that is ashes of burned *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ashes of this grass are used by some Tuareg
[462] for chewing tobacco. It is said in Ahaggar that containers of this type are made exclusively by noble women of the *Kel Rela* tribe, and that the containers should be worn only by noble Tuareg and not by vassals. The brass
● [565] tube is always made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.265 m long (total length). (N.M. G. 5888).

c. A piece of cane covered with coloured leather and fringes of the same material. It is called *tafendit* and serves for the conservation of *tazult* (antimony). Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.116 m. (N.M. G. 5267).

386 the south, or are obtained from plants grown by sedentary agriculturists. The technique of skin dyeing
[281] as practised by the Tuareg nowadays cannot be considered an ancient one in Tuareg culture. Its
[174] origin is probably to be looked for in the more developed civilizations of Northern Africa, and not in a nomadic culture like that of the Tuareg. Other dyeing methods known to the Tuareg may well be very ancient. I believe this to be true of the red ochre known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tameghoyt*,

[text continues on p. 286]

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292 ceremonial ridings as those described on p. 104 f. I have been informed both in Ahaggar and in Ayr that bandoleers were used exclusively for such purposes. Rodd depicts a rock-drawing from Timia in Ayr and believes that it perhaps represents a man wearing a bandoleer (Rood 1926a, p. 194, pl. 40 [172] p. 305). This may be so, but I have been told by Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group that bandoleers [848] were introduced among the Ayr Tuareg by the French when they formed the camel patrol made up of Tuareg from different Ayr tribes. However, my informants also claimed that the use of bandoleers for camel riders was an ancient custom in the north among the Ahaggar Tuareg, from where it was ● [565] introduced to Ayr by the French. Informants of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer told me that the custom was traditional to noble Tuareg but no[illegible]o vassals, though Tuareg of the vassal class also wear bandoleers nowadays.

291 Apart from the head-cloth (*ékerhey*) the following garments are typical of Northern Tuareg women:— (1) *tékamist*, that is a large and wide shirt of cotton, in form and cut identical with the man's shirt; (2) *asegbes*, a large piece of cotton used for a skirt or a petticoat; this is fixed tightly around the waist merely by folding it at the upper edge; (3) *tikest*, a large piece of cotton worn as a shawl over the shoulders and head, covering the head-cloth.

In addition to the head-cloth (*adalil*), which they frequently wear rolled up on the top of the head, Tuareg women of the *Kel Ferwan* group wear three main garments:— (1) *aftek*, a very short shirt of poncho cut. It is very akin to the shirt worn by Hausa-speaking women of Agadez, who use the words

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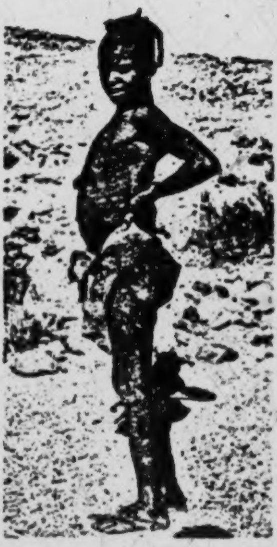

Fig. 237. Slave-boy wearing the loin-cloth depicted above Fig. 238. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehle* tribe.

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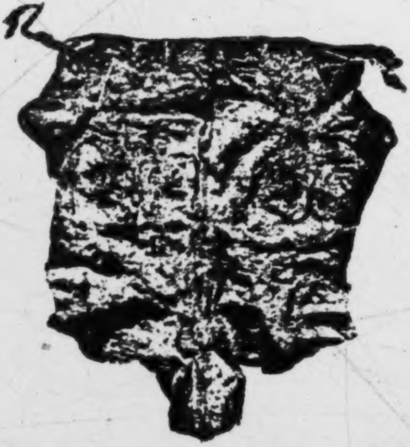

Fig. 238. Loin-cloth consisting of a piece of tanned and depilated goat-skin. It is known as *argag* and is worn mainly by boys and young slaves. Dimension: 0.715 × 0.575 m. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. (N.M. G. 5258).

291 *liga* or *tagua* for this garment piece; (2) *téri*, a large piece of cotton worn as a skirt wound around the waist in the same way as in the north; (3) *tesegbes*, a large piece of cotton used as a petticoat.

[114] Lhote has published some very interesting information on the dress of Tuareg women. Thus he mentions that certain women among Sudanese Tuareg wear a kind of shawl over the shoulders instead of a poncho shirt. I have myself seen this garment among pastoral Arabs south of Ayr and close to [567] Aderbissinat, but I have never seen it among the Tuareg. Still more interesting is Lhote's description of a skin skirt worn by slave women among the *Iwllemmeden* (Lhote 1955a, p. 308). This leather skirt, which is laced around the waist by means of a leather cord, is also recorded from the *Bélla* of Timbuktu by Dupuis-Yakouba (cf. Seabrook 1934, p. 251), and some skirts of the same type are conserved in the "Musée de l'homme" in Paris. One skirt among those found in the Paris museum (no. 33.78.9) comes from the Sudanese *Bélla*, and was collected in the region of Arawan by the "Expedition du [294] Hall" in 1945. It is made from several pieces of decorated leather sewn together with leather thread; its total length is about 0.70 m. Another skirt of the same type, but without a museum number, is perhaps of the same origin. In addition to these two skirts the Paris museum possesses three other leather skirts of the same type. They were collected by Lhote in 1939 among Tuareg living in the south-west. One of these skirts is from the *Tengerregif* Tuareg (mus. no. 41.19.845) while the two others [567] come from the *Kel Inteser* (mus. no. 41.19.846 & 847). The skirts are known as *elaraite* according [565] to the museum's card-index, where it is stated that they are worn by slave women, and it is added that similar leather skirts were worn by slave women and poor women of the vassal class among the Ayr Tuareg up to the French occupation of Ayr

[text continues on p. 296]

492 [177] The large saddles for women (*akhawi*, *tkhawit*, *aragen*) (p. 88 f.) were most probably introduced by Arab pastoralists. These saddles are not known among all Tuareg. In the Northern Tuareg groups they are used in the noble class (*Ihaggaren*), in the *Isekkemaren* class, which seems to have relationship with Arabs (p. 10, 398 f.), and in the *Iregenaten* tribe which lives in Tamesna though it belongs to the group of Ahaggar Tuareg. Its members claim to descend patrilineally from Arabs, matrineally from noble Tuareg. Large women's saddles are also found among the Tuareg of Adrar-n-Foras, and there is a saddle of the *akhawi* type from this group in the ethnographical collection of the Neuchâtel Museum (no. 49.2.35). Women's saddles are also common among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*. They are described by Nicolas who mentions two types. One named *tahâwit* is perhaps constructionally different from the saddles of the north, while the other type termed *aruku* is constructionally related to riding saddles in Ahaggar, but is without the large wooden side-arches characteristic of certain northern saddles. However, saddles having arches like this are found among the *Deremchaka* Arabs who live in *Kel Dennek* territory (Nicolas 1950a, p. 178 Fig. 47a & e, pl. X p. 177). Light women's saddles resembling the Ahaggar *tkhawit* saddle without side-arches and known as *akhawi* was seen in the camp of the noble *Kel Tahabanat* Tuareg near Ayoru. Here I was told that the wooden structure is always manufactured by blacksmiths while its cover of ochre-coloured leather is made by Tuareg women who also make the little *afezu* mat placed over the structure and serving for seat. Such saddles ● [565] are found only in noble tribes of the *Western Iwllemmeden*, never among vassals. Women's saddles are unknown in Ayr where the Tuareg build a riding saddle upon large cushions (cf. p. 90), and they are apparently also unknown among the *Kel Geres*. The Ayr Tuareg speak of riding saddles known as *akhawi* or *tkhawit* as "Arab saddles", and these terms are also derived from Arabic. Lhote states that he has not seen the richly-decorated saddles known as *akhawi* outside of Ahaggar (Lhote 1947a, p. 142). Thus it seems that proper women's saddles have a limited distribution among the Tuareg. They occur mainly in certain classes of the Northern Tuareg, the *Kel Adrar*, and the *Iwllemmeden*. 492 171 In these areas they are apparently also used by Arabs. Somewhat related women's saddles are found among the Tebu. These saddles are described by Le Coeur who states that they are normally bought in Kanem (Le Coeur 1950, p. 60, 126). I think that this may perhaps indicate their origin as this region and adjacent parts of the Lake Tchad plains have a population of pastoralists of Arab descent. Various types of women's saddles occur among all Arab pastoralists of North Africa and the Arab peninsula – possibly with the exception of certain bedouin tribes of South-eastern Arabia. I do not know whether these saddles occur among the Beja, the Danakil, and the Somali. They are not mentioned in the literature I have consulted.

492 The pack saddle known as *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* (p. 76, Fig. 57) is not very common among the Northern Tuareg. It is unknown among the *Kel Ayr* and so far as I know also among the *Kel Geres*. It seems to be unknown also among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* where the same structure is used as a women's saddle as mentioned above (Nicolas 1950a, p. 178 Fig. 47e). I do not know if this saddle type occurs 492 171 in other Tuareg groups. It is found in the Lake Tchad region and Chudeau considers it typical of the sahelian zone (Chudeau 1909, p. 206; Capot-Rey 1946, p. 163). It is also mentioned by Nachtigal as the typical type of saddle of the Tebu (Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 457), while the Tebu saddle described by Le Coeur and now preserved in the Musée de l'homme (no. 32.50.4) is slightly different from the

# Political Systems of Pastoral Tuareg

In the introductory chapter on the Tuareg I mentioned that they fall into a number of main groups. 101
These groups or federations constitute the largest political units and are the following:— the *Kel* 642
*Ahaggar*, the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Kel Adṛar*, the *Kel Ayr*, the *Kel Geres*, the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*, and
the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*. The federation of *Kel Tademaket* in the region of Timbuktu was subjected to the *Iwllemmeden Kel Atdram* from about A.D. 1800 (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). In this chapter I attempt to outline the structure of some of the federations, and to consider certain problems connected with their historical development.

The two groups of Northern Tuareg which are so intimately related to one another, both culturally 173
and linguistically, formed originally one large political group under the command of the very powerful 642
noble tribe, the *Imenan* in the region of Ganet. It was not only considered noble to a very high degree, 614
but it was very highly estimated because of its supposed relationship to the Prophet. Many noble 565
Tuareg to-day, both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, will claim themselves to be *Echcherifen* through relationship to the ancient *Imenan*, whose leader was the supreme chief of all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-
n-Ajjer until about A.D. 1650 or somewhat later in the 17th century. The *Imenan* about that date [669]
lost their power owing to insurrections led by the powerful noble tribe, the *Uraṛen*. A Tuareg of this [643]
tribe killed the supreme chief named *Guma* and the leadership of the *Kel Ajjer* now passed over to the chief of the *Uraṛen*.

The political system of the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century has been described in some detail 175
by Duveyrier with particular reference to the *Kel Ajjer* among whom he lived in 1859 (cf. Duveyrier 64
1864). Among the authors who visited the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century Duveyrier is by far the most important, and his brief description of political organization is of particular value.

When the *Imenan* lost their supreme authority owing to the rising of the *Uraṛen*, they retained 643
their titles of *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*), which are used for all descendants of the *Imenan*, their [614]
women even to-day being known as *Timenukalin* (sing. *Tamenukalt*). The chief of the *Imenan* was still "the *Amenukal*", a title used for supreme and independent chiefs of large political units. It is a word known to all Tuareg, and there have been some discussion about its proper meaning. The meaning according to Duveyrier is "the owner of the land" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 331), and this interpretation is that generally followed by modern authors (e.g., Lhote 1955, p. 189; Blanguernon 1955, p. 47), though Foucauld does not go into the proper meaning of the word *Amenukal* but contents himself with the statement that it is the title of "a chief who is not subjected to any other chief" (Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1213 f.). According to Prasse *Amenukal* is very probably a composit of

643 *amenu* + (*a*)*kal*, "*amenu* of the country". The first part may be the now extinct sing. of *Imenan*, the
original meaning of which is unknown ("princes"?); this agrees with Foucauld's statement that
normally *Amenukal* is used as sing. of *Imenan*, meaning *iyen daṛ-Menan*" = "one of the *Imenan*
tribe" (Prasse, verbal information). My own view is that though the title may perhaps refer to *akal*
[423] meaning "land" it is to be doubted whether it contains the meaning of "ownership". It is evident,
as pointed out recently by Briggs, that an *Amenukal* as a supreme chief does not own the land in any
ordinary sense, but rather owns it as a representative of the whole community (cf. Briggs 1958, p. 88).
However, many Tuareg of the south do not connect the word *Amenukal* with "*akal*", and even in
the past when the supreme *Amenukal* of the *Imenan* reigned over the Northern Tuareg, he apparently
did not have the supreme command of the whole country. When Duveyrier stayed among the *Kel*
173 *Ajjer*, the country of these Tuareg was divided between certain noble tribes. This division was said
631 to have taken place in the following way:— The first Tuareg who settled in Tasilé-n-Ajjer were the
614 *Imenan* and the *Ifoṛas*, while other tribes immigrated at a later date. It happened one day in the past
that the supreme chief of the *Imenan* summoned the noble women who had sons with rights of succession
to chieftainship, and to each of these women he alloted a particular territory as their apanage.
Thus the noble woman of the *Uraṛen* tribe was given the valley of Iṛaṛṛaren, while the noble woman
of the *Imanṛasaten* tribe gained the valley of Tekhammalt (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 323). According to
this popular account the land of the *Kel Ajjer* was divided between noble tribes even at a time when
175 the supreme chief of the *Imenan*, the *Amenukal*, was the supreme ruler of the *Kel Ajjer*. In Duveyrier's
631 days the important land-holding tribes among the *Kel Ajjer* seem to have been the *Imenan* in the
614 Tasilé around Ġanet, the *Uraṛen* north of the Tasilé Mountains around the valley of Iṛaṛṛaren, the
*Imanṛasaten* east of the *Uraṛen*, and finally the *Ifoṛas* who lived in the region south and southwest
[565] of Ṛadames. The *Ifoṛas* Tuareg were then, as to-day, held in high esteem because of their position
as *Ineslemen*. They also claimed themselves to be noble by origin. They had no vassals attached to
them, but one of the *Ifoṛas* tribes had territorial rights around Ṛadames, and it had the right to dues
[651] from all foreign caravans passing through the country. Other land-holding tribes possessed the same
rights for their particular territories, and their members (i.e., apparently their chiefs) at certain seasons
camped around the caravan roads leading through their country to collect dues from caravan
[643] traders (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff., 359 ff.). The *Kel Ajjer* country in Duveyrier's days was divided
between various noble tribes, and the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Ajjer group*, the chief of the
*Uraṛen*, had no rights over the whole country as such.

565 The noble Tuareg among the *Kel Ajjer* had rights over certain vassal tribes which did not necessarily
614 live within the territory of the noble tribe to which they were attached. Duveyrier tells us so much
642 of this vassalage that it is possible to outline the main structure of this very interesting political
institution.

The noble tribes which had particular rights over vassals were the *Uraṛen*, the *Imenan*, and the *Imanṛasaten*. The last-mentioned tribe remained loyal to the ancient rulers of the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Imenan*, to whom they constituted a sort of armed guard in the past. The *Imanṛasaten* were in opposition to the *Uraṛen* but the latter tribe was very powerful because of its direct authority over most vassal tribes. In all 17 vassal tribes or tribal sections were commanded by the *Uraṛen*, while the *Imenan*,

had five vassal tribes, and the *Imanṛasaten* only three. Four tribes were divided between the *Uraṛen* 565
and the *Imenan*, and one vassal tribe was divided between all three noble tribes. 614
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The *Imenan* in Duveyrier's days comprised only five men who lived like sedentary Arabs at Ġanet
and Ṛat; they held the titles of *Imenukalen*, and their chief was "*the Amenukal*" who still possessed
the drum (*eṭṭebel*) as the symbol of his former power. But the *Imenan* had no political power, and
Duveyrier says that they were not allowed to summon their vassals to war. The true political leader 643
of the *Kel Ajjer* was the chief of the *Uraṛen* with the title of *Amṛar*, but he was not the most important
person. The practical leader of all Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer was the famous Tuareg known as *Akhenukhen*,
whom Duveyrier called *Emir*. He had not accepted the position as *Amṛar* because this would
have obliged him to give up his nomadic life and take up residence in a house. *Akhenukhen* held the
supreme political and judical authority not only over the particular vassals of the *Uraṛen*, for all
Ajjer Tuareg also submitted to his orders. However, we know from Duveyrier's description that 614
the other noble tribes had the right to engage in raiding expeditions on their own behalf supported 721
by their individual vassals, and it was not always easy for *Akhenukhen* to keep order. However,
as leader of the bulk of the vassal tribes which were loyal to their master, he could retain the
dominant position of the *Uraṛen* tribe, and in difficult judical problems he was aided and supported
by the religious leaders of the *Ifoṛas* group.

The noble tribes of the *Kel Ajjer* were subdivided into tribal sections which had their particular vassals. 565
It seems as if this division of vassalage was primarily an economic one. Thus the chief of the *Uraṛen* 614
possessed the supreme political authority over all vassals attached to his tribe though he only had 613
particular economic rights over part of them (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff. & Dubief 1956, p. 87). I
revert to these important features of political systems among the Northern Tuareg in a more detailed
account of political relations in Ahaggar.

## KEL AHAGGAR

The Ahaggar Tuareg became politically independent in the 17th century when the supreme chief 173
*Guma* of the *Imenan* was killed and the power over the *Kel Ajjer* passed into the hands of the *Uraṛen*. 614
The Ahaggar Tuareg may even then have obtained their own supreme chief, but we know almost 642
nothing about this early period. The supreme chiefs of the Ahaggar Tuareg, who have the title of 643
*Amenukal*, are known as far back as to about 1750 when the ruler was *Sidi ag Mokhammed el Khir*.
During his reign the Ahaggar Tuareg became divided into three major groups centering around the 173
noble tribes known as *Kel Ṛela*, *Taytoḳ*, and *Tégehé Mellet*. These tribes divided the vassals between 565
them. The *Taytoḳ* and the *Kel Ṛela* until then formed one single tribe, and their members even to-day 614
claim to be matrilineally related as *ara-n-tañatin*, that is "persons descending from sisters", for the 642
an[illegible]ress of the *Kel Ṛela*, by name *Kella*, and the ancestress of the *Taytoḳ*, whose name was *Sakina*,
were in fact maternal cousins (cf. p. 140). The third noble tribe, *Tégehé Mellet*, to which vassals
were allotted, is said to descend patrilineally from Arabs – perhaps from the *Chamba*. There
were two other noble tribes among the Ahaggar Tuareg at this early date. One of them known

173 as the *Ikadeyen* had no vassals and its members had apparently then as now a rather subordinate
565 position compared with other noble Tuareg. The noble tribe named *Kel-ahem-mellen*, which to-day
614 is of little importance and not very numerous, with some of its members settled in the oasis of
642 Inṛer in Tidikelt, seems to have had certain *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes as its particular vassals, but they were later placed under the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytoḳ*, and the *Tégehé Mellet*. The *Iseḳḳemaren*, as we shall see below, had a political status somewhat different from that of the true vassals known to the Northern Tuareg as *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad*. The division of the vassals of this group during the reign of *Sidi ag Mokhammed el Khir* between the three noble tribes of *Kel Ṛela*, *Taytoḳ*, and *Tégehé Mellet* is most interesting. When the vassals were divided between the three noble units it led to a division of some of the vassal tribes. Thus the *Ayt Lowayen* was divided into two between the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Tégehé Mellet* while the tribe known as *Imessiliten* was divided into the *Dag Ṛali* for the *Kel Ṛela*, and the *Kel Ahnet* for the *Taytoḳ*. It would have been easier to divide the vassals without splitting their tribes, but we may perhaps suggest that the tribes were split because they were already divided into groups of individual vassals under those who became independent noble tribes. When the division of vassals took place in the 18th century most went to the *Kel Ṛela*, but quite a number of tribes was also allotted to the *Taytoḳ*, while the *Tégehé Mellet* tribe received so few that it could never become politically important.

When the vassals were divided between the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytoḳ*, and the *Tégehé Mellet* these noble
634 tribes became united into a sort of federation known as *tégehé*. The three tribes with their vassals formed
[534 so-called drum-groups or *eṭṭebelen* (sing. *eṭṭebel*) with chiefs who had as their insignia a large drum
778] known as *eṭṭebel*. It was endowed with a particular mystic power; it should not be allowed to touch the ground and when the drum skin was worn, it had to be replaced by a famed warrior. The drum must be obeyed when beaten by the drum-chief to summon his subjects. The drum-chief was the supreme political and judical authority of a drum-group, and he could organize raids and wage war upon other groups. He also collected certain annual payments from his particular vassals. This was
631 true of the chiefs of all three drum-groups in Ahaggar. But within the federation of drum-groups
634 that of the *Kel Ṛela* held a prominent position. The drum-chiefs of the two other groups, the *Taytoḳ*
643 and the *Tégehé Mellet*, only possessed the title of *Amṛar* (pl. *Imṛaren*), which word is that generally used for a chief among the *Kel Ahaggar*, while the chief of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group had the title of *Amenukal* as the chief of the whole *tégehé* federation. Within every drum-group the drum-chief would ceremoniously install all chiefs of vassal tribes but the two drum-chiefs of *Taytoḳ* and *Tégehé Mellet* were installed by the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Ṛela* group. The *Amenukal* himself was installed in his
[565] office by a Tuareg from one of the *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes of his own drum-group. When the *Amenukal* was installed, which ceremony nowadays takes place at Tamanṛaset, a Tuareg of the *Iseḳḳemaren* class provided him with a large head-cloth. The installment ceremony, which is preserved to this day, was and is the same for any chief among the Ahaggar Tuareg. When a drum-chief was to install a vassal chief, the ceremony took place in the camp of the drum-chief, and when the *Amenukal* had to install drum-chiefs of the two other groups the installation took place in the *Amenukal's* camp.

The supreme position of the *Amenukal* appears from the rules governing the installation of chiefs, but as already mentioned, the *Amenukal* could not concern himself in all matters of the two other

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## THE FEDERATION OF AHAGGAR TUAREG

(Size of tribes according to Lhote 1955a, p. 225 ff. from statistics of 1949.)

| | Noble tribes | | Vassal tribes | | *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The *Kel Ṛela* Drum-Group | *Kel Ṛela* | 275 | *Dag Ṛali* | 386 | *Iheyawen Hada* | 253 |
| | | | *Ayt Lowayen* | 400 | *Kel Inṛer* | 176 |
| | | | *Aġuh-en-tehlé* | 585 | *Kel Tĕfedest* | 61 |
| | | | *Ṛelayddin* | 40 | *Kel Immidir* | 179 |
| | | | *Iklan-en-tawsit* | 500 | *Kel Taẓulet* | 158 |
| | | | *Ibettenaten* | 129 | | |
| | | | *Ireġenaten* | 435 | | |
| | To-day many of them live in Tamesna. They intermarry with other noble tribes, with the *Ifoṛas* group, and sometimes with Arabs and their own vassal tribes. But women of pure noble stock will not generally be allowed to marry vassal men. The *Kel Ṛela* women, like noble women of the *Uraṛen* (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and *Kel Ferwan* (Ayr), do not associate freely with people of other classes. | | These two tribes are not true vassals by origin. The *Ibettenaten* is said formerly to have had noble status and the *Ireġenaten* descend matrilineally from the *Ibettenaten*, patrilineally from Arabs. | | The *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes descend from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women or are Arabs who have become assimilated by the Tuareg. They are said formerly to have been the vassals of the noble *Kel-ahem-mellen* tribe. The powerful Arab tribe of Tidikelt, the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu*, claims that they were originally their vassals. | |

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[651] territorial chief over the country inhabited by the vassals of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group. He had the right to dues from caravans passing through the territory of that drum-group, while further west such dues were given to the chief of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group. He had the right to land rents from the vassals of his groups, while land rents further west in the *Taytoḳ* country belonged to the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ* group.

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[illegible] To-day the *Amenukal* holds a very strong position as chief of the whole country of Ahaggar, and his power has been much augmented because the French govern the country through him. In the past the position of the *Amenukal* was a less powerful one. All Tuareg say that he was then not particularly strong, and there are many examples of the vassals of his own drum-group showing disobedient [565] to him. The *Amenukal* had to be elected, and, contrary to what is often stated in literature on the subject, he was not elected by the noble Tuareg of his own tribe, though they had a certain influence, but by his vassals who also had the right to dismiss an *Amenukal* if dissatisfied with him. The *Amenukal* lived like other Tuareg and his sole insignia was the drum which followed him on journeys and served to summon his vassals.

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651 We have mentioned above (p. 148 ff.) that the *Amenukal* even to-day receives a land-rent (*éhéré-n-amadal*) from all tenants of the sub-areas of vassal tribal territories, and the rules of payments and

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| | Noble tribes | Vassal tribes | *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes |
|---|---|---|---|
| The *Taytoḳ* Drum-Group | *Taytoḳ* 33<br>There are hardly any Tuareg of pure *Taytoḳ* stock left in Ahaggar to-day. They are now in Tamesna together with their chief *Mokhammed ag Mokhammed* who possesses the drum. During a visit to Ahaggar 1954 he received as a gift 14 or 15 camels from his vassals still living in that region. Many vassals of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group also now live in Tamesna. The *Taytoḳ* and their vassals frequently intermarry, and such mixed marriages were also quite common in the past. | *Kel Ahnet* 127<br>*Iwerweren* 47<br>*Tégehé-n-Efis* 127<br>*Ikuttisen* 84<br>*Ikechchemaden* (now mixed with the *Dag Ṛali* tribe of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group).<br>*Irechchumen*<br>A tribe patrilineally related to the noble *Taytoḳ*, matrilineally to the vassal tribe of *Kel Ahnet*. In 1938 it comprised about 10 tents and 60 individuals. | *Kel I-n-tunin* (about 20 tents in 1938). |
| The *Tégehé-Mellet* Drum-Group | *Tégehé Mellet* 33 | *Kel Turha* (part of the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group). | *Kel Terurit* 62<br>*Kel Uhet* 70 |
| Noble Tribes Without Vassals | *Kel-ahem-mellen* | The *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes are said formerly to have been vassals of this tribe | |
| | *Ikadeyen* | Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tit. | |

rights have been outlined. These payments were also made to the *Amenukal* by people of his drum- 643
group in the past, and then as now he received an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* from all vassal tribes. 651
The size of such *tiwsé* payments in the past is unknown, but they have no doubt varied from one
tribe to another as they do to-day. I describe in brief the *tiwsé* payments made by the two most im- 643
portant vassal tribes to illustrate this:— (1) The *Aġuh-en-tehlé* tribe is divided into three sub-tribes 651
which make their *tiwsé* payments separately as follows: The *Kel Tarhawhawt* sub-tribe gives 600 kgs 614
of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kgs of butter. The man who brings this payment 613
to the *Amenukal* is rewarded with 15 metres of cotton. The *Isandan* sub-tribe gives 300 kgs of millet 565

643 and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kgs of butter annually to the *Amenukal* who rewards the man
651 bringing this payment with a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. As to the *Kel Aṛefsa* sub-tribe its collective
614 payments are the same as those made by the *Isandan*. (2) The *Dag Ṛali* tribe pays *tiwsé* as follows:—
613 12 bags of millet (i.e., 3 bags from each of the four tribal sections) corresponding to 6 camel-loads,
565 are given to the chief of the *Dag Ṛali*. He sends 10 bags to the *Amenukal*, and keeps two for himself.
In case of good grazing the whole tribe gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the *Amenukal*. -
All vassal tribes of the *Kel Ṛela* drum group make such annual payments to the *Amenukal*, and this
also applies to the *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes. These payments, known as *tiwsé*, are in fact tokens of vassalage,
634 and are never made by noble Tuareg. The payments should properly belong to the *Amenukal* as
drum-chief of the *Kel Ṛela*, while vassal tribes of other drum-groups should make their payments to
their particular drum-chiefs.

643 The *Amenukal* had other rights over his subjects. He had the right to summon the vassals of his
634 drum-group to war and large-scale raiding, and he had the right to half of all war booty taken by his
565 vassals. This right was known as *abellaġ*, and the vassals of other drum-groups paid similar dues to
their particular drum-chiefs. Furthermore, we have seen that the *Amenukal* as the leader of the *Kel
Ṛela* drum-group could inherit livestock from such deceased subjects as had no living patrilineal
614 kinsmen, though he would make no use of livestock thus inherited. The animals would remain in
the tribe to which the deseased person belonged under the supervision of the tribal chief (cf. p. 138).
As a drum-chief the *Amenukal* also had the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief
614 within his drum-group. This is also the case nowadays, but it should here be mentioned that the chief
of the very important vassal tribe, the *Dag Ṛali*, has the right to one of the *Amenukal*'s riding camels
on the latter's death.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the *Amenukal* could claim various indemnities (*eḍḍiyet*)
634 among which have been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants (p. 151).
681 Even to-day the *Amenukal* can claim these and many other indemnities. In case of adultery, for instance,
684 he can claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches
his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her and the seducer on the spot, and formerly
682 the families of persons thus killed had no right to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth
paid in case of murder within the tribe, but the *Amenukal* might then claim an indemnity from the
614 murderer. When the murderer and the person killed came from different tribes, blood-wealth had
to be paid to the family of the slain man by the murderer's kinsmen. The *Amenukal* could not deny
his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid
he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain
man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were ever paid.
683 For bodily harm of various kinds there were other indemnities to be paid in camels (cf. p. 102), and
178 such indemnities are perhaps made even nowadays, but blood-wealth and revenge have been abolished
648 by the French, who have in many ways given the *Amenukal* more power over his subjects than he
had in the past.

178 To-day the authority of the *Amenukal* is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow
643 his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the *Amenukal* and ask him whether he

619 him a similar payment for protection. In spite of these annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were 721 frequently raided by the Ahaggar Tuareg. If foreign groups paying *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal* were raided 643 by people of his drum-group, the *Amenukal* had the right to a tribute named *ennehet* which according to Foucauld corresponded to about one third of the booty taken, and this payment should be made by all raiders, whether nobles or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the *Amenukal*'s drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the *Amenukal* to whom they paid *tiwsé* for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347 f.).

634 The drum-group (*eṭṭebel*) was the most important political unit among the Ahaggar Tuareg. The [831] federation (*tégehé*) was for long periods split into quarrelling drum-groups. We have seen that quarrels might occur even within a drum-group which nevertheless remained a stable unit.

634 It seems as if the stability of a drum-group was partly maintained by means of a joking relationship ● 565 (*tehanḍeẓẓit*) between people of different classes. However, within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there 571 were tribes the members of which did not engage much in joking of this kind, and this was and is 614 true notably of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe which is considered one of the oldest vassal tribes in Ahaggar. [602] People of the *Dag Ṛali* to-day have no joking relationships with anyone beyond cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law (cf. p. 454 f., 465 ff.). Most other tribes within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group joke with the tribes of the *Iseḳḳemaren* class. The word "*Iseḳḳemaren*" means literally "people who lie down upon the elbow supporting their head against the hand." People of this particular class is considered a kind of superior vassals because they are attached to no other noble Tuareg but their drum-chief. But nowadays, as in the past, they are spoken of disparagingly by both noble Tuareg and true vassals, who say that the *Iseḳḳemaren* in the past did not engage in warfare and raiding expeditions, and that these Tuareg are on the whole very weak. Most noble Tuareg and vassals will joke with the *Iseḳḳemaren*, and there is a particular strong joking relationship between the [602] vassal tribe *Aġuh-en-tehlé* and the *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes. Such joking relationships are functionally [431] related to joking relationships between relatives and in-laws and a fixed gift-exchange is observed between *Aġuh-en-tehlé* Tuareg and *Iseḳḳemaren* Tuareg when they visit each other. When the *Aġuh-en-tehlé* Tuareg come to the *Iseḳḳemaren* they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the *Iseḳḳemaren* visiting the *Aġuh-en-tehlé*. The *Aġuh-en-tehlé* tribe has the most intense joking relationship to the noble *Kel Ṛela* Tuareg of all vassals. These vassals and the noble *Kel Ṛela* engage in sham-fights (*tebbillant*) exactly in the same way as cross-cousins. This intense joking relationship between the *Kel Ṛela* and the vassal *Aġuh-en-telhé* should probably be explained in the light of the fact that the latter tribe was incorporated into the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group more recently than most other vassals.

The different Tuareg classes do not generally intermarry. There are very few marriages between *Iseḳḳemaren* and *Kel Ulli* vassals, though love-making between them is common and facilitated by their mutual joking relationship. This is true particularly for certain *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes (*Iheyawen Hada, Kel Taẓulet*) and the *Aġuh-en-tehlé tribe*. Wedding feasts in these *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes are most popular with young men of the *Aġuh-en-tehlé* who are free to make love to the *Iseḳḳemaren* girls. Between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there were in the past very few marriages, if any, while this was not so in the *Taytoḳ* drum-group, where marriages were contracted between

noble Tuareg and vassals. It would seem as if these mixed marriages had a political function as they 634
served to reinforce the solidarity within the drum-group in view of its opposition to the *Kel Ṛela* 565
drum-group and the *Amenukal*. In consequence of these marriages the political relations between 571
noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group was in the past much influenced by rules of kin- 614
ship behaviour, and the payments due to the drum-chief from vassals were less comprehensive than [802]
in the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group.

*The Kel Ṛela* drum-group was divided into minor relationships between noble Tuareg and vassals. 634
These relationships were known as *temaẓlayt*, that is literally "the root of the nail". They have almost 565
ceased to exist, and consequently they are very difficult to describe. However, it is possible to outline 571
their organization and main functions. They were structurally akin to the drum-group, as they were 613
matrilineally organized. A noble Tuareg who had rights over certain vassals would be succeeded by a [178]
maternal Kinsman, and in a group of vassals right and obligations would equally follow matrilineal rules. A *temaẓlayt* relationship was a relationship between a small noble matrilineage with a particular leader and a larger matrilineage of vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad* class. The noble matrilineage that was attached to a definite group of vassals would not necessarily correspond with the matrilineal core within a section, for there were comparatively many noble Tuareg in the *Kel Ṛela* tribe who were leaders of *temaẓlayt* groups. This is shown by Benhazera's investigations, which took place at a time when the ancient political system of the Ahaggar Tuareg still retained most of its traditional functions. At that time there were at least ten noble Tuareg who were commanders of *temaẓlayt* groups (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 139 ff.).

There are certain traces of *temaẓlayt* organizations even to-day. The token of this relationship is the payment of an annual due known as *tiwsé* from a group of vassals to the *temaẓlayt* master.

Apparently some vassals who made *tiwsé* payments to a noble *temaẓlayt* master did not make this payment also to their drum-chief (the *Amenukal*). Thus to-day the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe makes an annual *tiwsé* payment to *Maṛli agg Amayas* of the *Kel Ṛela* section named *Inemba Kel-Emeṛri*, but gives no *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal Bay*, who belongs to the *Iboglan* section of the same tribe, though the land-rent (*éhéré-n-amaḍal*) is always paid to the *Amenukal*. I was also told by the *Kel Ṛela Khalifa* of Tamesna, who belonged to the *Iboglan* section, that he had the right to collect the *tiwsé* payment from the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Afuh-en-tehlé*, but as he was now living outside of Ahaggar this payment was made by the *Isandan* to the *Amenukal*. However, I believe that in the past most vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad* class made *tiwsé* payments both to their individual *temaẓlayt* masters and to the *Amenukal*. This would also seem to be in agreement with Foucauld's description of *temaẓlayt* relations (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1965).

A noble *temaẓlayt* master had no judicial authority over his individual vassals, and could not summon 634
them to war and raiding against their will. These rights belonged to the drum-chief, consequently in 565
the *Kel Ṛela* group, to the *Amenukal*. The obligations of a noble *temaẓlayt* master towards his vassals 571
were mainly to protect them against raids by and exploitation of other noble Tuareg who formed a 613
class of warriors and raiders roaming the country for enemies and for booty. A *temaẓlayt* master had 721
the right to organize raids with the support of his vassals, if they were interested, and the vassals were also allowed to carry out raids on their own behalf, but in both cases half of the booty (*abellaġ*) taken by

634 vassals was given to the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) and not to the *temaẓlayt* master. However, should
565 a vassal Tuareg have borrowed for raiding a riding camel from his *temaẓlayt* master or another noble
571 613 Tuareg, they received a tribute also known as *abellag*, comprising half of the booty remaining when
721 one half had been given to the *Amenukal*.

565 The noble Tuareg possessed many advantages over their individual vassals. They could apparently
571 claim almost what they wanted for their subsistence, and frequently camped close to their vassals who then were obliged to feed them, and when in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take such animals from their vassals (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). Similar information is given by Benhazera, but he states that the vassals in the past would not necessarily supply everything demanded by their noble lords (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The vassals were under a particular obligation to provide the noble Tuareg with goat-breeding products, and if they had milk yielding she-camels the noble Tuareg could claim these animals until milk-yielding stopped. But the vassals had also many advantages from the *temaẓlayt* relationships. They were not only protected by their lords. The noble Tuareg would leave behind the animals they could not take with them when roaming in the desert, and noble Tuareg never had much livestock with them in their camps. It was also of great importance to the vassals that they could use their masters camels for caravan trading. On the whole the system was not exclusively the exploitation of vassals by the noble Tuareg, and it can be added that the vassal Tuareg were always more numerous than the noble Tuareg, that the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) was elected by the vassals, and that he alone had judicial rights. The system was one of give and take to both classes involved, and there can be little doubt that it was well adapted to practical ecological conditions.

233 In Ahaggar, camels and goats are very complementary to each other. The camel supplies the Tuareg
433 with milk, but with very few other products, and the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-
[234] camels which yield very little when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important
[262] as food, but it is not well-fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar Tuareg kill camels to
[281] utilize their meat only when many people congregate, as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft, for tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the
[437] camels have little direct economic value. But for raiding in the past, camels were very valuable riding animals, and were then, as now, extremely important for caravan trading which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food.

The economic rôle of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive
[234] part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese
[262] which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore, goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like.

Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without 233
camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to 433
the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays, as in the past, base their economy mainly on camels and goats.
I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats and their [212]
vegetable food from caravan trading with the aid of camels.

Formerly, the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned 565
exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but 233
he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). It is, however, confirmed 422
by many Tuareg that the vassals originally had no camels, and that throughout the 19th century they 571
had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat
products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals, and even to-day goats and butter form part of the
*tiwsé*-payments. The noble Tuareg, on the other hand, allowed their particular vassals to trade with
their camels against the payment of a certain amount of vegetable food products which to-day also
form part of most *tiwsé*-payments. They allowed their vassals also to have usufructs of such animals
as could not be taken with them on their migrations. Noble Tuareg of to-day continue to claim food
products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts of the vassals, and
there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they obtain part
of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals
when milk-yielding stops; this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. The noble Tuareg of
to-day may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance, to guard domestic animals or
to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by
vassals. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals, who can refuse any gift or [178]
service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are even noble Tuareg who wear amulets which are [289]
believed to induce vassals to donate the things required.

It would seem that the economic relationships forming the basis of the Tuareg political system in 174
the north would arise so to speak automatically from two distinct cultures which met each other in 565
the desert: a camel-breeding culture of a Berber-speaking people now known as the noble Tuareg,
and a goat-breeding culture of an ancient Berber-speaking population which now constitutes the
vassals.

Some Tuareg traditions seem to indicate that political systems based on class-division arose in this 173
way in the north, but we have to admit that other traditions contradict this. Below I attempt to 565
elucidate Tuareg history in Ahaggar by means of native traditions to which, for practical reasons,
I allot definite numbers.

*Tradition A.* All Tuareg have a common origin as they descend from a woman named *Lemtuna*, who is also the ancestress of certain Berbers living around Ṛadamas in Tripolitania. Most Berbers of Morocco descend from *Lemtuna*'s sister who became the ancestress of the *Beraber*. This tradition is widely known in Ahaggar.

*Tradition B.I.* This tradition is a very common explanation of the origin of the class-division in Ahaggar: Long ago two Islamic women of the *Beraber* immigrated to the oasis of Silet from Tafilelt in Morocco. One of these women named *Ti-n-Hinan* was noble while the other woman named *Takama*

173 was the servant girl of *Ti-n-Hinan*. These two women settled in Ahaggar which was almost uninhabited. 565 But in the mountainous parts of the country there lived a pagan people named *Isebeten*, who were goat-breeders and hunters. *Ti-n-Hinan* settled at the oasis of Abalessa not far from Silet, and she was buried in a huge tomb close to Abalessa, while her servant-girl *Takama* was buried in a small tomb not far from the tomb of *Ti-n-Hinan*.

*Ti-n-Hinan* became the ancestress of the two noble tribes *Kel Ṛela* and *Taytoḳ* who are matrilineally related. According to traditions collected by Benhazera, it seems as if two other noble tribes, namely *Kel-ahem-mellen* and *Téġehé Mellet* also descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* (Benhazera 1908, p. 90 ff.). This disagrees with my own information and also with that of Foucauld (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 536). The two latter tribes are said to be of different origin, while the noble Tuareg of the *Iwllemmeden* descend from *Ti-n-Hinan*'s younger brother.

*Takama* had two daughters, the elder of whom became the ancestress of the noble tribe *Ihaḍanaren* who now live mainly in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, though a few individuals camp in Ahaggar. The tribe is considered noble but has never had vassals. The younger daughter of *Takama* became the ancestress of the two vassal tribes the *Dag Ṛali* and the *Ayt Lowayen*, and also of the *Kel Ahnet* which was originally united with the *Dag Ṛali*.

The tradition of the descent of noble Tuareg and vassals from *Tin-n-Hinan* and *Takama* as outlined above is admitted as true among most Ahaggar Tuareg, though the vassals claim that *Takama* was the younger sister of *Ti-n-Hinan* and not her servant-girl. And they claim that the superior position of the noble tribes is due to this fact, as any person must always pay respect towards elder brothers and sisters.

The tradition is told in a somewhat expanded edition by Foucauld:— After the immigration of *Ti-n-Hinan* and *Takama* their descendants who then constituted the tribes of *Kel Ṛela*, *Dag Ṛali*, and *Ayt Lowayen* lived in Ahaggar alone for a very long time. They were very few in number and had no camels. They subsisted mainly by goat-breeding and hunting. They never travelled outside Ahaggar, and had no knowledge of other places such as Tidikelt, Ayr, and Adṛaṛ of the Ifoṛas. It then happened that the two noble tribes *Kel-ahem-mellen* and *Téġehé Mellet* penetrated into Ahaggar. They conquered and burned down the agricultural settlement of Ennedid which was a centre of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. The *Dag Ṛali* Tuareg then assembled at the village of Tahart to fight their invading enemies. They succeeded in killing most of the *Kel-ahem-mellen* and *Téġehé Mellet* Tuareg and took their camels. From then onwards the Ahaggar Tuareg became camel-breeders, began to travel outside of Ahaggar, and grew in number (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 536).

*Tradition B.II.* A variation of the tradition about the origin of the Ahaggar Tuareg from *Ti-n-Hinan* and *Takama* has been recorded by Lehureaux as follows:— *Ti-n-Hinan* came from Tafilelt to Ahaggar riding on a white camel and accompanied by her faithful companion *Takama* and a certain number of slaves. From their homeland, the country of the *Beraber*, they had brought with them many loads of dates and millet. But the road to Ahaggar was a very long one, and the caravan became seriously threatened by hunger. However, one day *Takama* discovered a great many ant hills, and assisted by the slave women she collected all the seeds which the ants had stored. *Takama* gave these seeds to *Ti-n-Hinan* who remained sitting on her camel as she was of noble descent. By means of these

seeds the caravan was able to arrive in Ahaggar. In order to commemorate this event the *Dag Ṛali* 173
and the *Kel Ahnet*, who descend from *Takama*, each year give a fixed tribute of seeds or dates to the 565
noble Tuareg who descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* (cf. Lehureaux 1929; Reygasse 1950, p. 88 ff.).

The stories about the origin of certain noble Tuareg from *Ti-n-Hinan* and the descent of the oldest vassal clans from *Takama* are traditions which seem to be created to justify the class-division and the supremacy of the noble Tuareg. The events narrated in the two variations of this tradition are contradictory. According to the tradition quoted by Foucauld, the noble Tuareg descending from *Ti-n-Hinan* had no camels when they arrived in Ahaggar, whereas that recorded by Lehureaux states that their ancestress came to Ahaggar riding on a camel. As to this I may say that all noble Tuareg I have questioned have claimed that they have always been camel owners.

The *Ti-n-Hinan* traditions bear the stamp of myth and they seem to have originated among the
noble Tuareg. It is an interesting fact that the tombs near Abalessa, which according to the tradition 172
should contain the bodies of *Ti-n-Hinan* and *Takama*, at their excavation actually contained the skeletal 173
remains of two europid women. The so-called tomb of *Ti-n-Hinan* is in fact not so much a tomb as
an enormous fort built of stone and containing several graves. The building is about 26 × 24 metres
but of irregular shape. Its height is estimated to have been about 4 metres. In the interior of the building
there are *tifinaṛ* inscriptions and engravings. Around the tomb of *Ti-n-Hinan* there are several small
stone graves of the so-called "chouchet" type which contained skeletal remains of men, women, and
children. About 200 metres from *Ti-n-Hinan*'s tomb there is a smaller tomb which appears to have
been very simple and of the "chouchet" type. This according to tradition is, the tomb of *Takama*.
There seem to be little doubt that the monument as well as its surrounding tombs are pre-Islamic.
It is also very likely that it has been erected by Berber-speaking peoples, and it was perhaps used as a
station for caravans crossing the Sahara from the Mediterranean to the Sudan. The archaeological
finds show a mixture of Roman artifacts from the 4th century A.D., and Sudanese articles. Reygasse,
who has described the fort and its finds in detail, has also collected a tradition in Ahaggar according
to which the fort was erected by a *rumi* named *Joluta* who lived in Ahaggar somewhat before the
introduction of Islam (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 88 ff.). Though the *Ti-n-Hinan* monument was probably
erected by a Berber-speaking people who dominated Ahaggar, we cannot be so sure that its founders
were the ancestors of the noble Tuareg. We must again bear in mind that the *Ti-n-Hinan* tradition 173
contains a strong mythical element, and that traditions and truth are often different things. To-day
it is widely said in Ahaggar that *Ti-n-Hinan* is the ancestress of the noble Tuareg and the French. It [548]
seems that this tradition derives from a French non-commissioned officer. The Frenchman related it
to please the Tuareg and to create a bond between the Tuareg and the French. At all events we cannot
accept the *Ti-n-Hinan* tradition as truth, and will now consider certain other traditions regarding the
origin of the Ahaggar Tuareg.

*Tradition C.I.* This tradition is in circulation mainly among the vassals. It is as follows:— 173
The oldest inhabitants of Ahaggar were a people called *Isebeten* who are also mentioned in the B.I. 565
tradition. They were pagans who lived in a very primitive fashion. They had no proper tents and
natural caves in the mountains were their normal habitations. They subsisted mainly by hunting
barbary sheep and by goat-breeding, and used donkeys as beasts of burden. Foucauld mentions a-

173 tradition according to which some of the *Isebeten* formerly engaged in agriculture in Ahaggar (Fou-
565 cauld 1951-52, II, p. 535). The *Isebeten* spoke a Tuareg dialect different from that spoken to-day.
[172] Numerous prehistoric survivals draw attention to the mode of livelihood of the ancient *Isebeten*
people. A huge tomb at the foot of the Asekrem mountain is said to contain the remains of their
supreme chief, *Akkar*, and the Tuareg say that the large stone pestles (cf. Fig. 200) commonly found
in Ahaggar, were used by the *Isebeten*. The existence of the *Isebeten* in Ahaggar is a fact, besides,
two men known as *Mokhammed ag-Kerku* and *Émenni ag-Khedidda*, both members of the *Dag Ṛali*
tribe, are said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten*. Tuareg of the *Dag Ṛali* claim that their tribe
descends from the *Isebeten*, or is very closely related to it, so that the ancient population of *Isebeten*
formed the ancestral tribe of the oldest vassals *Dag Ṛali* (*Kel Ahnet*) and *Ayt Lowayen*. These *Isebeten*
were conquered by the ancestors of the noble Tuareg who came to Ahaggar at a later date and intro-
duced the camel.

It is striking that this tradition about the origin of the oldest Ahaggar vassals from the ancient
*Isebeten* contains no mythical elements, and I believe that it holds an element of truth, the more so
as it explains the origin of the class division in a quite natural way. Dr. Vycichl has tried to connect
the word *Isebeten* with the name of a Libyan tribe *I-s-b-t-u* mentioned in Egyptian accounts, according
to which the tribe was exterminated by Rameses III (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 145). However, there is no
reason to speculate about the name in this way, as it can be explained more naturally without much
[551] difficulty. For the word *Ésebet* is very frequently used as a personal name of women in the *Dag Ṛali*
tribe so that it would seem natural to interpret the name *Isebeten* as "a group of people descending
from the woman *Ésebet*". If this interpretation is correct it would seem that the ancient *Isebeten* had
[114] a system of matrilineal succession. Lhote has stated that certain hunting territories in the *Dag Ṛali*
[428] tribe are inherited in the paternal line by people who descend from the ancient *Isebeten* (Lhote 1955a,
p. 144 f.) but this is not in agreement with my own investigations, which show that the two men said
to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten* have no rights over hunting-territories.

174 The cultural features said to have been characteristic of the ancient *Isebeten* are to a large extent
614 conserved even nowadays in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. These vassals, like other true vassals of Ahaggar, are
565 known by the name *Kel Ulli*, that is "the goat people", or by the name *Imṛad* which perhaps also
refers to goat-breeding for, according to Nicolas, the word is related to *eṛeyl* meaning "a kid" (Nicolas
[433] 1950a, p. 189). We can add that even to-day the subsistence activities of the true vassals centre mainly
around goat-breeding, with hunting and collecting as subsidiary occupations. Hunting is particularly
[224] important to the *Dag Ṛali*, descendants of the *Isebeten* and living within the same territory as did this
ancient people.

173 As to the arrival of the noble Tuareg, comprising the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Taytoķ*, said to descend from
565 *Ti-n-Hinan*, there is some evidence that they did not constitute the oldest noble Tuareg settling in
Ahaggar. The tradition of their descent from *Ti-n-Hinan* claims that these noble Tuareg came from
Tidikelt in Morocco, that they descended from the *Beraber*, and that they were Islamic. The claim
that they were Islamic cannot be easily reconciled with the view that their ancestress was buried in the
large tomb or fort at Abalessa, for this huge building is beyound doubt pre-Islamic. I think it possible
that the tribes said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* were Isamic when they immigrated to Ahaggar.

My arguments in favour of the theory that the noble tribes now dominant in Ahaggar are not the 174
oldest noble Tuareg of that area are the following:— 565

(1) The small noble tribe *Ikadeyen*, which to-day comprises very few persons who live mainly as 571
sedentary agriculturists around the cultivation centre of Tit in Ahaggar, is said to have lived in Ahaggar 614
before the *Ti-n-Hinan* tribes. Some Tuareg say that the *Ikadeyen* are as old in Ahaggar as the *Isebeten*, and it is most interesting that the *Dag Ṛali* Tuareg, who descend from the *Isebeten*, pay at each marriage in their tribe a tribute corresponding to 50 kilos of millet or dates to the *Ikadeyen*. This custom is quite unusual and it may perhaps point towards an ancient vassal relationship between the *Dag Ṛali* (descending from the *Isebeten*) and the *Ikadeyen*. If this is so the vassalage has apparently been different from that prevailing in Ahaggar nowadays and more akin to that of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in Ayr, where part of the bride-wealth is given to noble chiefs. It is interesting to note that the *Ikadeyen* Tuareg are said to be "only a little *Ihaggaren*", or to be "*Ihaggaren* but not true *Ihaggaren*".

(2) The word *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) as a term for the social class here referred to as "noble 174
Tuareg", seems to be peculiar to the Northern Tuareg. In other Tuareg groups the so-called noble 565
class is known by the term *Imajeṛen* (sing. *Amajeṛ*), or related terms. Nicolas says that this term refers [184]
to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188 f.). The corresponding word in Northern Tuareg dialect is *Imuhaṛ* (sing. *Amahaṛ*), which is used for all true Tuareg including the vassals. It has generally been accepted that this word derived from the verb *aheṛ* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318; Foucauld 1951–52, II. p. 665–674), but Prasse has recently informed me that it is a deformation of *amaziṛ* known in Northern Berber as "free man; Berber". The Foucauld hypothesis that it should be a verbal adjective of *aheṛ* must be discarded, the *h* of this verb being original (Prasse, verbal information) (cf. also Rodd 1926a, p. 457–462).

The word *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) is different. According to the Tuareg it is just a name, and it is very possible that Foucauld is right in claiming that it is identical with the word *Hawwara*, which was the name of an ancient Berber-speaking population of North Africa (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533 f.). Nicolas has stated as his opinion that this theory is pure speculation (Nicolas 1953b, p. 14). This, however, is not correct, as the relationship between the words can be explained on linguistic grounds, as claimed by Foucauld. For the letter *w* when redoubled will as a rule change into *gg*, and *w* very frequently permutes with *g* (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533).

If we can consider *Hawwara* and *Ihaggaren* as identical words and thus assume a relationship 174
between the dominant noble Tuareg of Ahaggar and the ancient Berber-speaking people known as 175
*Hawwara*, we must look for further information about the latter people who are frequently mentioned 565
in Arab historical documents of the Middle Ages. Ibn Khaldun in particular has written about the *Hawwara*, who are described as nomads and sedentary people who live mainly in the regions of Tunisia, Tripolitania, and Cyrenaica, though tribes belonging to the *Hawwara* groups are also found outside this area to the east and west. The *Hawwara*, according to Ibn Khaldun, came under Arab influence at a very early date, and were conquered by the Arabs as early as the 9th century A.D. In Ibn Khaldun's days the *Hawwara* people were entirely dominated by the Arabs and were the vassals of Arabs of the *Beni Sulaym* group. They spoke Arabic and were culturally indistinguishable from the Arabs. But according to Ibn Khaldun some of the pastoral *Hawwara* at very early date migrated

174 southwards to settle close to the *Lemta* Tuareg. The *Hawwara* descent of these people is indicated by 175 their name *Heggar*. For the letter *w* in the name *Hawwara* has changed into a sort of *k* with a pro- 585 nunciation something between a soft and a guttural *k* (cf. Ibn Khaldun I, p. 275 ff.). Thus we see that the theory set forth by Foucauld about the connection between the *Hawwara* and the *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) was advanced much earlier by Ibn Khaldun.

It is interesting to note that though he recognizes a certain relationship between the *Hawwara* and the large Tuareg groups Ibn Khaldun does not as a rule mention the *Hawwara* as belonging to the veiled Tuareg. There are many different and contradicting genealogical views of the origin of the *Hawwara*. It seems as if Ibn Khaldun accepts the explanation given by Ibn Hazm: All Tuareg groups and the *Hawwara* descend from an ancestress named *Tizki*. But the *Hawwara* are not patrilineally related to these large Tuareg groups; they descend from *Hawwar* and through him from an ancestor named *Awriṛ* (cf. Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 169). It is remarkable that the word *Awriṛ*, which in the form of *Awriṛa* is also used by Ibn Khaldun as a name of a Berber tribe in the Fezzan, is identical with *Uraṛen* – the name of the principal noble tribe among the *Kel Ajjer* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533).

Of the other Tuareg groups Ibn Khaldun says that they have lived in the desert since immemorial times. The principal groups mentioned are:—

*Gedala* belonging to the large *Ṣanhaja* division. They lived in the desert south of the Arab tribe *Dwi-Ḥasan* of *Makil* root living around Sous in Southern Morocco.

*Lemtuna* and *Wenziga* in the desert south of the Arab tribes *Dwi-Manṣur* and *Dwi-Ubayd-Allah* – tribes of *Makil* root living in Morocco.

*Messufa* in the desert south of an Arab tribe named *Zoṛba* living in the central Maghreb.

*Lemta* living in the desert south of the Arab tribe *Riaḥ* in Eastern Algeria (Zab, Bougie, Constantine).

*Targa* living in the desert south of the Arab tribe *Sulaym* in Ifrikia, that is Tunisia and adjacent parts of Tripolitania (cf. Ibn Khaldun II, p. 104 f.).

The country of the Northern Tuareg in Ibn Khaldun's days was inhabited by two main groups of Tuareg known as *Lemta* and *Targa*. This is confirmed by Leo Africanus who, however, states that the *Targa* live west of *Lemta* as opposed to Ibn Khaldun, who says that the *Lemta* formed the westermost group. The two groups, according to Leo, also occupy the country south of the present territory of Northern Tuareg so that Ayr belonged to the *Targa* group (cf. Leo Africanus p. 797 ff.) (cf. also Rodd 1926a, p. 330 ff.). As to the *Hawwara* Berbers, they are mentioned by Leo in the original Italian edition as *Aoara*, in the English translation as *Haoari* or *Hacari*. They are not mentioned as forming part of the People of the Veil, but as tent-dwelling pastoral Moors living in the northern desert and speaking Arabic though corruptly (Leo Africanus p. 130 ff., note (14) p. 205 f.).

It is most interesting that the words *Targa* and *Lemta*, which have now disappeared as names of Tuareg groups, are mentioned not only by Arab authors but are also found on European Maps of North Africa from the 16th and the 17th centuries. We have the word *Targa* situated in the central or southern part of the Sahara on the *Africae Tabula Nova* of Ortelius (1570). We have the word *Targa* in the Northern Sahara and the word *Lempta* towards the south-east of it in the Central Sahara on the *Africae Nova Descriptio* of Blaeu (1665) (cf. Bovill 1958, maps III & IV p. 113 & 132), and we have both names occurring on a map produced by Dapper in the same century (cf. Dapper 1670, p. 1).

We mentioned in the introductory chapter that the word "*Tuareg*" seems to be derived from the 174
word "*Targa*" or *Tarġa*", which latter word nowadays is used for the desert country also known by 175
the Arab word, the "Fezzan". Foucauld says that the word "*Tuareg*" to the Arabs of Tidikelt has 565
two distinct meanings, namely (1) "noble Tuareg", and (2) "Tuareg of all classes". He also says that the Berber-speaking population of Tawat and Tidikelt use the word *Ilemtiyen* synonymously with the word "Tuareg" used by the Arabs of the same area, and that the name *Ilemtéyen* is used for a small tribe of Tuareg living in the *Kel Ajjer* territory (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533 f.). It is noteworthy that the *Ilemtéyen* tribe, which is not very numerous nowadays when its members live as sedentary agriculturists near Ṛat, is noble by descent, and I was told by the *Amenukal Bay* in Ahaggar that the *Ilemtéyen* tribe is not related to the *Ti-n-Hinan* tribes but descends from an ancestor named *Lemta*.

In other words the following theory on the origin of the class division and the political systems among the Northern Tuareg might perhaps be justified:— We accept the tradition that the class-division originated as a result of an invasion of Berber-speaking camel-breeders, that these people introduced the camel into the Sahara, and became the first noble Tuareg in the North. These first noble Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tassilé-n-Ajjer belonged to the group *Lemta*. The noble Tuareg who to-day form the dominant noble tribes in the north came later; they descend from the *Hawwara* Berbers, who very early came under Arab and Islamic influence and took up grazing grounds in the country of the Northern Tuareg at a later date which cannot be fixed precisely.

## TUAREG INVASIONS INTO AYR

The connection between the Mediterranean and the Sudan by means of caravans through the Sahara 174
is of very great, but unknown, age. Caravans have crossed the Sahara as far back as history reaches (cf. Bates 1914, p. 101 ff.; Bovill 1958, p. 24). At the beginning donkeys and oxen were probably used as beasts of burden, and the latter animals were employed also as draught animals for carriages, as were horses at a later date (cf. Lhote 1953a, p. 1138–1228). With the introduction of the camel, caravan trading through the desert was no doubt highly intensified. For although donkeys and also oxen can cross the Sahara in winter without much difficulty, camels are better suited to desert journeys.

The first Tuareg who came to Ayr may perhaps have been caravan traders attracted by the excellent gracing grounds of this country. When they arrived we do not know, but it seems possible to follow in broad outline the history of the Ayr Tuareg a thousand years back in time, and to distinguish between several invasions. However, it must be admitted that the invasions cannot be precisely dated
and that our historical knowledge is on the whole most fragmentary. It is derived partly from oral 174
tradition, partly from written historical sources, among which the so-called *Agadez Chronicle* is of 175
particular value. It consists of various Arabic manuscripts in the care of the Sultan of Agadez. They have been published in translation and abstracts (Palmer 1910, 1928, 1936; Urvoy 1934). Several authors have made valuable contributions to the history of the Ayr Tuareg (Barth 1857–58, I; Rodd 1926a, 1926b, 1938; Palmer 1936; Urvoy 1936; Nicolas 1950a, 1950b). But there have been an excessive tendency to speculation upon the basis of superficial resemblances between tribal words.

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## *Tribes of the Kel Ferwan Drum-Group*

### 1. *The Irawatten Group*

| Tribes | Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b) | | Notes | Traditional Grazing Grounds |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Iṛawatten* | 350 | 58 | There are to-day very few pure noble Tuareg of this dominant noble tribe, as the members have intermarried with negroid peoples and with the *Kel Geres*. The pure noble house-holds number about ten. The chief is also the chief of the *Irawatten* group and the drum-chief of the whole *Kel Ferwan* group. | Télewa (western part) |
| *Kel Tédalé* (3 tribes) | 1300 | | They claim to be of noble descent. They are officially vassals of the *Irawatten*, but are nevertheless very independent politically. | Talaḳ<br>Uraren<br>Zurika |
| *Kel Akerra* | 164 | 39 | Of noble descent with the *Ibararojiten* as their particular vassals. Intermarry frequently with the *Imezzureg* and with the *Kel Tédalé*. | Ti-n-Teburaḳ |
| *Imezzureg* | 106 | 20 | Of noble descent and related to the *Kel Akerra* and the *Isakaranan* with whom they intermarry. | Terezzet |
| *Isakaranan* | 653 | 107 | Of noble descent and related to the *Kel Akerra* and the *Imezzureg*. | Ti-n-Tebezgin |
| *Igendéynen*<br>A section of former slaves known as *Tindeku* is grouped together with this tribe. | 247 | 55 | Always close to the camp of the drum-chief as soldiers permanently under his command. | Burhal |
| *Iberdyanen* (2 tribes) | 621 | 97 | Living close to the noble *Irawatten* as their servants. | Gufat<br>Éknawen<br>Téwendegit |
| *Ikḳoberen* | | | Living close to the noble *Irawatten* as their servants. | |
| *Ayt Uṛen* | 160 | | | Maraṃaru |
| *Idaléyen* | 218 | 67 | | Telhecham |

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Ifadéyen* (2 tribes) | | Kurubobo<br>Imechchamelawen<br>Turuf<br>Beynabu<br>Ti-n-Dawin<br>Anyalen<br>Abalemma<br>Ékawél |
| *Elbaraten* | | Anwacher |
| *Ibararojiten* | Originally the particular vassals of the *Kel Akerra* tribe. | Emdegra |
| *Iṭagan* | Very few in number and without any tribal organization. They are placed directly under the drum-chief as his servants, and are considered a kind of "white slaves" to other *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. In the *Kel Faday* group there is a tribe of *Iṭagan* Tuareg. Their traditional homeland is said to be the region of Meneka in the country of the *Western Iwllemmeden*. | Éleleg |
| *Irawélen* | Pastoral Negroes who in the remote past were slaves of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. Culturally they are akin to other Tuareg pastoralists, but they have no tribal organization and are placed directly under the drum-chief's command. | Tombalaga<br>Akadaney<br>Meygawey |

### 2. *The Kel Azel Group*

| Tribes | Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b) | | Notes | Traditional Grazing Grounds |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Kel Azel* | 180 | 47 | Nowadays very few in number. It is said that there are only four households of pure noble origin. | Anoyaran<br>Tiṭezrin<br>Tafadek<br>Gufat |
| *Imezzuren* | 162 | 31 | | Tiṭezrin |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Kel Tésemt* | 237 | | Related to the *Imezzilalen* and the *Ikojjejiten* together with whom they are said to have constituted one tribe. | Assa and eastern part of Télewa | 634<br>614<br>565<br>162 |
| *Imezzilalen* | | 27 | Related to the *Kel Tésemt.* | Assa and eastern part of Télewa | |
| *Ikojjejiten* | | | A section of the *Imezzilalen.* | Afarak | |
| *Ifokkar* | 42 | 12 | Related to the *Kel Tésemt*, the *Imezzilalen*, and the *Ikojjejiten.* | Eastern part of Télewa | |
| *Ikawkan* | 150 | | Said to have been the particular servants of the noble *Kel Azel.* | | |
| *Ijakarkaren* | 203 | 41 | Said to be related to the *Igendéynen.* | Tafadek | |
| *Ifoṛas*<br>(2 tribes) | 396 | 95 | They came to Ayr from Adṛaṛ of the Ifoṛas about one hundred years ago. | Tédeyin | |
| *Irawélen* | | | A certain number of these negroid pastoralists, who once in the past were slaves, is placed directly under the command of the chief of the *Kel Azel.* They have no tribal organization. They are probably included in the figure of the *Kel Azel* mentioned above. | | |

To-day all Tuareg claim that a chief whether a drum-chief or a chief of a vassal tribe should be succeeded by his son, and that a sister's son may inherit the position. These rules have not always been followed in the election of drum-chiefs in the *Kel Ferwan* group, for the drum-chiefs have always been elected exclusively by the vassals, and after the French occupation they have even elected drum-chiefs who did not belong to the noble *Kel Ferwan*. Most probably it was not so in pre-European times, but the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg unfortunately have a very fragmentary knowledge of their drum-chiefs in the past. They say that fifty chiefs have reigned over the group until now. This figure, of course, should not be taken too literally, although there have most certainly been many chiefs of whom nothing is known. The names are known of the first four chiefs who are said to have reigned over the group in the very remote past, but the more recent are not remembered further back than the latter half of the 19th century. 634 173 634

The first drum-chiefs were the following:—

634 livestock of a murderer in reality was the property of the drum-chief. Apparently there has never
612 been any fixed size of blood-wealth among the *Kel Ferwan* in contrast to the two groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara.

634 The token of vassalage among the *Kel Ferwan* was the payment of half of the bride-wealth to the
● 565 noble lords so that the drum-chief received bride-wealth from his particular group of vassals, the chief of the *Kel Azel* from his group. The two noble lords received other payments from their vassals.
651 They would inherit a camel on the death of an individual vassal, and they received certain annual payments known as *sadakat* or *tamesodek*. This fee in its origin was a religious one, and certain tribes such as the *Imezzureg*, the *Kel Akerra*, and the *Isakaranan* claim that in the past, as nowadays, they made this payment to the *Ineslemen* Tuareg and not to the noble chiefs. But true vassal tribes gave their *sadakat* or *tamesodek* to the two noble lords. The fees were collected on behalf of the lords by people of the *Echchikhen* and by negroid blacksmiths, who are very numerous in Ayr. There were definite rules for the payment of the *sadakat* fees which were computed from the size of herds and flocks of all domestic animals with the exception of donkeys for which no payment was made. As an example the payments for camel herds can here be mentioned:—

| Size of herd | *Sadakat* or *tamesodek* |
|---|---|
| 10 camels . . . . . . | 2 goats |
| 15 camels . . . . . . | 3 goats |
| 25 camels . . . . . . | 1 young camel |
| 50 camels . . . . . . | 1 full-grown camel |
| 100 camels . . . . . . | 2 full-grown camels |

The *Echchikhen* and the blacksmiths took the *sadakat* animals to the two noble lords, who gave some
432 of them to the collectors, themselves exempted from taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at
735 the market of Agadez and most of the proceeds given to poor people by the noble lords, who would keep a small part for themselves.

634 The two noble lords, the drum-chief and the chief of the *Kel Azel*, had the right to parts of war-
721 booty taken by their vassals according to the following rules:—

515 (1) *témaggedaz*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the noble lords, the drum-chief or the chief of the *Kel Azel*. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g., riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the noble lords, while the other half should be given to their vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that only one seventh of the booty should go to the noble lord. The word *téfades* is said to have been used synonymously with *témaggedaz*.

(2) *téwit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the *Kel Ferwan* group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the noble lord would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A particular case is related of a group of *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg attacking a camp of *Kel Ferwan* vassals

placed directly under the drum-chief. The vassals counter-attacked and won the battle. They made 634 four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his 721 part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. 565 He kept them there for about a month, when they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted [727] on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

(3) *ékechchedi* – perhaps written *ékejjedi* – that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without the permission of their noble lord. In this case the latter would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals, who were not allowed to engage in warfare and raiding on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

We see from the above-mentioned rules that the political system of the *Kel Ferwan* group is based 634 upon a more strict relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals than among the Ahaggar Tuareg. 565 It is very interesting that the *Kel Ferwan* vassals made no annual payments for land-rights. Any vassal [184] tribe lived within a particular territory which was given to it by the drum-chief, and the vassals were [423] not allowed to defend their areas without his consent. The drum-chief claimed to possess all land and he gave particular grazing grounds to particular tribes.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power, as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would normally not only associate with the vassals on intimate terms, but would also joke with them. A joking-relationship (*adélen*) related to that of 565 cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between 571 all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group. They would joke with each other 634 unless there was a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal, it is said that the drum-chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". "People who are different tease each other to prevent trouble", the Tuareg say. For this reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. There would be no joking between vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group and noble Tuareg of the *Kel Fadey*. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve. There seems to be little doubt that joking played an important part in the maintenance of the class-division which formed the basis of political organization. It is important to mention in this context that joking among the Tuareg is a sign of friendship. It prevents conflicts and thereby it establishes a friendship relation. This is true also of present day joking between noble Tuareg and [564] vassals, and between all Tuareg and various black-skinned people such as the *Ineggedezen* and even slaves. This particular type of joking relationship is clearly related to that between cross-cousins, the [601] more so as joking partners of different classes or castes will very frequently address each other as *ebubaz* (pl. *ibubazen*), that is "cross-cousin". I return to the functional position of joking in Tuareg society in a later chapter.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals did not take place in the past. This 565 statement seems to be almost true, for though I have enquired much into this matter I have only 582
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565 been told about two such marriages which seem to have been contracted in fairly recent times. I think
582 that the main reason why the noble Tuareg do not marry with their vassals is that such marriages
634 would tend to break down the structure of the political system, as the noble Tuareg, including the
drum-chief, would acquire a great many in-laws among vassals to whom the conduct would be institutional joking or avoidance. For in addition to true relatives by marriage there are numerous classificatory ones. This will become clear from the description of the rules of behaviour valid for relatives by marriage.

634 In spite of the application of the rules of joking relationship on a political level, troubles within
578 the drum-group were far from unknown. And it is remarkable that even between the related tribes
614 of *Irawatten* and *Kel Azel* there might be very severe quarrels. There was a latent opposition
565 between them which might occasionally lead to fighting between noble Tuareg of the two groups.
The existence within the drum-group of another noble tribe, the *Kel Azel*, with a certain number of vassals was always a danger to the position of the drum-chief as a ruler of the whole
[661] *Kel Ferwan* group. And noble Tuareg of the *Irawatten* tribe say that in the past it even happened that
the drum-chief punished the *Kel Azel* very severely, not only taking all their livestock, but also burning
[701] down their camps. The drum-chief was able to maintain his power over the whole *Kel Ferwan* group
because most vassal tribes were placed directly under his command, and because these tribes camped around Agadez which was dominated by him.

The drum-chief also had trouble with another tribe of his group, the *Kel Akerra*. This tribe is said to have been originally of noble status and to have had as its particular vassals the *Ibararojiten* tribe. In the past the drum-chief assisted by vassals of the whole group imposed vassalage upon the *Kel Akerra*, who, however, refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-chief three times made war against the *Kel Akerra* to bring them to submission and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the *Kel Akerra* tribe became small and insignificant. It is said that the tribes of *Imezzureg* and *Isakaranan*, who like the *Kel Akerra* are noble by origin, also did not give their bride-wealth to the drum-chief in the past. But the three tribes were vassals in the sense that they had to give part of their war-booty to the drum-chief and could not carry out raids on their own.

[701] A certain discord reigned within the *Kel Ferwan* group, but the drum-chief had the support of most
tribes of vassals, who at his order would fight not only foreign Tuareg groups, but also quell internal
634 insurrections. However, the three northern tribes of *Kel Tédalé* were so numerous, so rich in camels,
614 and lived so remote from the rest of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes that the drum-chief could not maintain
his power over them. They were only nominally part of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the *Kel Tédalé* paid no tribute to other chiefs (Joubert 1939, p. 246), though it is said in Ahaggar that in the past they paid an annual tribute to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. But the *Kel Tédalé* were politically independent of other groups in Ayr, which is also stated by Jean
565 (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim the *Kel Tédalé* to be true vassals of their
614 drum-chief, and both Jean and Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104; Nicolas 1950b, p. 475).
Rodd thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three tribes the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427). The *Kel Tédalé* Tuareg I met all emphasized

their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation was verified by *Kel Ferwan* vassals who said that both 565
noble and vassal Tuareg are found among the *Kel Tédalé*. That some of them are noble by origin 614
seems to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the *Kel Tédalé* in part are related to the *Ihaḍanaren*
of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter tribe, though without vassals, is considered
noble by all Northern Tuareg.

As to the origin of vassalage among the Ayr Tuareg, it is probable that this is due to the meeting 565
of distinct cultures based mainly on camel-breeding and goat-breeding. Rodd has some very interesting 233
remarks on the position of the vassals as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:— [174]
"One of the functions of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords
for long periods or trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the
nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties.
But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom
to share the offspring of the camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the
animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible for making
good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances" (Rodd 1926a, p. 141 f.). Rodd, however, also refers [567]
to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a,
p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past
attended to mainly by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been
able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the particular camel-herdsmen of
the noble Tuareg. But I have been told by many Tuareg that there were in the past very few camels
in vassal tribes, and though most Tuareg apparently hold the view that the vassals have always had
camels, the Sultan *Umar* claims that originally they had none while the noble Tuareg have owned
these animals since times immemorial. So it might seem as if the political system of the drum-group 174
in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, was founded upon a class division with its root in the meeting of distinct 565
pastoral cultures. It is a fact that certain vassal tribes were attached to their noble lords as a kind 634
of workers with the duty of performing such work as could not be done properly by negroid slaves.
Among these tribes were the *Ikawkan* attached to the *Kel Azel*, and the *Iḳḳoberen* and the *Iberdyanen*
attached to the *Irawatten*.

It is most likely that the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg had vassals before they arrived in Ayr, for many true vassals hold that they have immigrated from the traditional homeland of their noble lords. However, there are in Ayr also certain tribes which have lost their noble status and become a kind of vassals owing to having been subdued in fairly recent wars.

## THE KEL GERES DRUM-GROUP

There is no class-division of so-called noble Tuareg and vassals among the *Kel Geres*. In this respect 642
they differ from most other Tuareg groups except for the *Kel Ewey* among whom a division into classes 565
of this kind has ceased to exist – probably because the *Kel Ewey* have mixed with the sedentary negroid
population of the Ayr villages. In *Kel Ewey* certain tribes are more important than others, but

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565 there are no true vassals or *Imṛad* though some *Kel Ewey* tribes are referred to in literature as vassals.

174 The lack of the important structural feature of vassalage among the *Kel Geres* may perhaps be
642 explained in the following way:— The *Kel Geres* Tuareg lived originally in Ayr within much the same
565 area as that now occupied by the *Kel Ewey*, and it is most likely that they had mixed very much with
[144] the sedentary Negroes as there are among the *Kel Geres* very many black-skinned and negroid Tuareg. It is very probable that the *Kel Geres* when living in Ayr led a semi-sedentary life, for it is said that they had very few domestic animals when they left Ayr in the 18th century owing to the pressure of the *Kel Ewey*. We may perhaps assume that this particular mode of livelihood was the reason why vassalage ceased to exist among the *Kel Geres*. When, in the 18th century, the *Kel Geres* were driven southwards into the Sudanese steppes and savannahs, they became ardent stock-breeders and adopted a political system much related to that of an ordinary Tuareg drum-group with the exception that they had no class-division.

614 Among the *Kel Geres*, all tribes of pastoral Tuareg are known as *Imajeṛen* but though they are not
642 divided into classes these tribes are nevertheless not politically identical. The most important tribe
643 is that called *Ti-temeḳḳeret*. It is named after Anu-Meḳḳeren in Central Ayr where this tribe originally lived, and the *Kel Geres* drum-chief (*ettebel*) is always elected from this particular group. But the drum-chief is not elected by all adult people of his drum-group, but by members of three tribes, the *Anyegeren*, *Ireyawen*, and *Kel Awnar*. The members of these tribes alone can elect and dismiss a drum-chief entirely at their discretion. When they have elected a new drum-chief he is ceremoniously installed by a man of the *Anyegeren* tribe who wraps the large head-cloth around the chief's head. In all this the *Kel Geres* resemble the *Kel Ewey* among whom the *Anestafidet* is elected by the members of three important tribes.

The three tribes of *Anyegeren*, *Ireyawen*, and *Kel Awnar* are also politically very important in other respects for they consistute the nuclei of three sub-divisions of the *Kel Geres*. The chiefs of the three tribes have the title *Aṛolla* (pl. *Iṛollan*) and they are also the chiefs of certain other pastoral tribes
[563] which have individual chiefs with the title of *Amṛar* (pl. *Imṛaren*). A certain number of people who are non-Tuareg by origin are placed under the authority of all tribal chiefs, e.g., *Iṛawélen* who are slaves manumitted in the past, *Ikenawen* who are professional potmakers, *Ineden* or blacksmiths, and *Itéfnen*, that is sedentary Hausa living in villages.

614 In addition to the tribe of the drum-chief and the three *Iṛollan* tribes, there is among the Kel Geres
642 a fifth tribe which is politically very important, namely that known as *Ezuṛmani*. It is a religious tribe
[illegible] of the so-called *Echchikhen* class, and its chief is known as *Echchikh* though he also bears the title of *Al-Ḳadi*. He acts as the adviser of the drum-chief in judicial and religious matters, and though he apparently possesses no direct authority over all *Kel Geres* he is very influential and greatly respected. The *Al-Ḳadi* or *Echchikh* is elected according to the traditional rules of succession acknowledged by the *Kel Geres*, a deceased chief being succeeded by his younger brother or by his son. But in contrast to all other chiefs, including the drum-chief, he cannot be dismissed when he is once elected. All religious tribes within the *Kel Geres* drum-group are placed directly under the authority of the *Al-Ḳadi* (*Echchikh*) of the *Ezuṛmani* tribe. But the *sadakat* fees are made to the drum-chief and not to the Al-Ḳadi.

the *Al-Ḳadi*. In this respect the position of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief is similar to that of drum-chiefs 643 among the Ayr Tuareg, and though the present drum-chief says that the *Kel Geres* were never divided into noble and vassal tribes, he nevertheless claims that part of any war-booty taken by *Kel Geres* Tuareg in the past should be given to the drum-chief who had the right to *témaggedaz* and *téwit* (cf. p. 428). The drum (*ettebel*) of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief is akin to drums of other Tuareg chiefs. [534] The drum must not touch the ground, but the drum-chief did not believe that its power would be [278] spoilt were it to be touched by women.

## THE KEL ADRAṚ

The *Kel Adraṛ* are very superficially described in literature, but their political system has been outlined 642 by Cortier. They constitute only one drum-group under the leadership of an *Amenukal* who is the 565 possessor of the drum (*ettebel*). The class-division is rather similar to that of most other Tuareg groups. There are certain vassal tribes (*Imɣad*) and certain noble tribes though the latter are not considered noble in the usual sense. They are known as proper *Ifoɣas* Tuareg and they are to be grouped rather with the *Ineslemen* class than with the proper noble class termed *Ihaggaren* or *Imajeɣen*. However, their position within the drum-group is almost identical with that of noble Tuareg in other groups. The *Amenukal* is elected according to patrilineal rules being succeeded by his younger brothers and [643] next by his sons, but the vassal tribes do not participate in the election. Within the drum-group there are many smaller divisions of noble families who have their individual vassals, so that from any vassal tribe there are always certain families living in the camp of a noble lord to work for him and to guard his domestic animals. A noble Tuareg can also claim what he wants from his particular vassals while on the other hand the vassals do not pay any fixed tribute to the noble chiefs, not even to the *Amenukal*. The power of the *Amenukal* is a very limited one, and his position is mainly determined by his personal [843] qualities (cf. Cortier 1908, p. 274 ff.).

## THE IWLLEMMEDEN KEL DENNEK

The *Kel Dennek*, that is the *Eastern Iwllemmeden* around Tawa, have been described in detail by 642 Nicolas who, however, is not very clear as to particulars. Apart from the class of *Ineslemen* the *Kel* 643 *Dennek* Tuareg are divided into the classes of noble Tuareg (*Imazeɣen*) and vassal Tuareg (*Imɣad*, or 534 *Kel Ulli*). These vassal Tuareg are politically attached to four drum-groups (*ettebel*) in which the drum- [565] chief is elected from a noble tribe according to patrilineal rules. One of these drum-groups has a [114] leading position, as its chief with the title of *Amenukal-n-akal* is the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Dennek* group known as *tégezé*. In addition to his drum this supreme chief (*Amenukal-n-akal*) has a burgee or flag to be used in case of a holy war and on certain ceremonial occasions such as the installation of an *Amenukal*. This flag is made of silk and is green, blue, and red in colour. The title *Amenukal* is as

The title of Amenukal is

634 used for other important chiefs but the *Amenukal-n-akal*, while the title *ettebel* is reserved to those 565 chiefs that command a drum-group and possess a drum. These drum-chiefs, including the *Amenukal-n-akal*, 651 have the right to an annual tribute known as *Iluse* (*chiwsé*) from their individual vassals, and it seems as if the tribute known as *sadaḳa* or *tamessadeḳ* must also be given to them, because the drum-chief is inseparable from his *Ḳadi* or *Imam* who shares this tribute, originally a purely religious one. It would appear that the drum-chief also has the right to *tekasit* or *takote* (*takuté*), that is the 634 right to inherit part of the fortune left by deceased vassals. As in Ahaggar, the drum-chiefs have certain 565 delegates or representatives who are known as *Khalifas* or *Anemazul*. It also seems as if there were in the past, as in Ahaggar, smaller units of noble Tuareg and vassals, and it is stated by Nicolas that the vassals were under the obligation to guard the herds of their noble lords. The vassals have the right to take part in political or judicial councils (*ameni* and *zemaret*), but they have no right to take part in decisions, or to vote at the election of a drum-chief. They had also no right to possess camels. The noble Tuareg had all political rights and the privilege of waging war. They had the right to war-booty which they would distribute among their vassals who might even be wealthy. – These are the [178] main features of the *Kel Dennek* system. It began to break down already in 1900, and there has been [642] no supreme chief of the *Kel Dennek* since 1917 (cf. Nicolas 1939, p. 579–586 & 1950a, p. 188–193, 201–209).

## THE IWLLEMMEDEN KEL ATARAM

642 The *Kel Ataram* have been little written about. The best description is given by Richer who says that 565 in pre-French times the South-western Tuareg were divided into two federations:— (1) the *Kel* [114] *Tademaket* around Timbuktu and (2) the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* around Gao and Meneka. In both federations there are noble Tuareg (*Imuchaṛ*) and vassals (*Imṛad*, sing *Ameṛid*, or *Daṛa*). The dominant noble class holds its power because of its pure origin and strength. The vassals are more mixed with [567] Arabs and Negroes. They have herds of their own and slaves (*Bélla*). They pay *tiwsé* to the noble Tuareg, but this payment is a very small one and mainly to be considered a symbolic admission of the supreme power of the noble Tuareg. The noble Tuareg in the past had to protect their vassals, but the vassals accompanied their noble masters on raids and were given part of the war-booty. All [614] tribes, whether noble or vassal, have a chief known as *Amṛar*, but all important decisions are made [646] by the *myad*, that is a council of noble Tuareg with their chief acting as a kind of president. This 643 council of noble Tuareg elects a supreme chief with the title of *Amenukal*, but the vassals also have the right to vote at his election. The *Amenukal* is mainly occupied with foreign policy and with warfare. He is always elected from the same tribe, but his office is not hereditary nor is it necessarily held for a lifetime. The insignia of the *Amenukal* is the drum, *tobol*. Richer gives no further particulars of 642 the political system, and many of the vassals had already at his time gained an entirely free position 565 (Richer 1924, p. 3 f.). – To this description given by Richer I add a few notes taken from Aymard:— [614] Vassal tribes can have a superior position in relation to other vassal tribes. Thus many small and weak tribes are commanded by the *Kel Gossi* and *Idnanes* who are vassals. A noble Tuareg does not marry a vassal woman, while a noble woman may marry a vassal Tuareg as her children will become noble.

The political supremacy of the nobility is founded upon conquest and has become hereditary, but 642
this supremacy can be lost. If a vassal tribe conquers a noble tribe the rôles may change, and though 565
this has not yet happened the principle is considered valid by all Tuareg. The vassals pay an annual tribute to the noble Tuareg. A noble Tuareg can take what he likes from a vassal, but his rights depend upon his strength, just as the tributes paid by vassals depend upon the strength of their noble lords. A noble tribe must protect its vassals against other noble tribes. Chiefs of both noble and vassal [642]
Tuareg tribes have the title of *Amenukal*, and this title is hereditary. The power of the supreme noble 643
chief (the *Amenukal*) is such that he cannot kill obstinate subjects. But he can thrash them and even wound them, and he can seize their property. There may be more than one candidate when a chief is elected, and this may lead to severe quarrels and even to the division of the tribe (cf. Aymard 1911, p. 37 ff.).

Mangeot & Marty in their study of the Niger Tuareg mention that even in pre-European times 642
certain tribes of vassal status had no particular duties towards noble tribes. They also state that the 565
relationship between noble and vassal Tuareg was breaking down shortly after the French occupation [178]
of the country. The traditional *tiwsé* payments made by vassals to their noble lords differed much from one tribe to the other. Certain vassal tribes gave only one container with butter annually (Mangeot & Marty 1918, p. 258, 461). The chief *Amdeɣ* of the noble *Kel Tahabanat* informed that the *tiwsé* payments, which were abolished long ago, were always insignificant. They were made in goats and butter. The chief also said that originally the *Imɣad* tribes had no camels.

## THE ORIGIN OF TUAREG POLITICAL SYSTEMS

We see from the description above that Tuareg political systems bear resemblances to one another 642
in most groups. The largest political unit is the group under the leadership of a supreme chief, generally 631
known as the *Amenukal*, or as *Amenukal-n-akal* in the *Iwllemmeden* groups where the title *Amenukal* 643
is used also for minor chiefs. The *Amenukal* of a political group is also the chief of a so-called drum-group within the larger political group, though in Ayr the *Amenukal* is identical with the Sultan of Agadez. We may say that the political group known among the Northern Tuareg as *tégehé*, in the *Iwllemmeden* groups as *tégezé*, has a central government consisting of the *Amenukal*, his deputies, and a council. And it is clear that the *Amenukal* everywhere was considered the supreme chief with superior judicial rights and also the war-leader of the whole group. But the authority of an *Amenukal* was in all groups a very limited one, and quarrels between the various drum-groups of a federation were very common everywhere.

The most important political unit of Tuareg political systems was in fact the drum-group. Its chief 634
was always a most important person. In most groups he was elected mainly by the vassals, and he was not an absolute monarch, though normally he could obtain the support of most vassals to quell internal insurrections. Within the drum-group the drum-chief was the highest judicial and military authority, and it was he who had to regulate all relations between noble and vassal Tuareg within the drum-group. Other noble Tuareg, e.g., the *temaẓlayt* masters, within the drum-group had no [565]
ar-

634 judicial or military authority, and the vassals could complain over their noble lords to the drum-chief,
565 whom they could even dismiss if dissatisfied with him.

[422] In some Tuareg groups the vassals were not allowed to possess camels, and it is interesting here to
mention that among certain East African peoples cattle or productive cows are owned only by people
[171] of a noble or aristocratic class (cf. Roscoe 1923a, p. 51; 1923b, p. 2, 15; Oberg 1940, p. 130; Maquet
1954, p. 29, 171). Where Tuareg vassals owned camels the noble Tuareg had the right to make use
of these animals, and even to-day there are vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar who give their milk-yielding
she-camels to the nobility.

642 - In some Tuareg groups there seem to be traditions in favour of the theory that the class-division,
565 which forms the basis of most Tuareg political systems, arose as the result of the conquest by pastoral
[173] camel-breeders of nomads or semi-nomads subsisting mainly on goat-breeding. We have mentioned
that the word *Kel Ulli*, which means literally "the goat people", are used as a generic term for vas-
sals among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg. We have
also seen that the word *Imṛad* is used for "vassals" in all groups, and it perhaps also refers to goat-
breeding with the meaning of "a kid" (cf. p. 408). If this latter explanation be correct it might seem
that the word "*Imṛad*" was originally a contemptuous term, and this is in accordance with the fact
that vassals among the *Kel Ahaggar* do not use this term, and do not like to be known by it, though
they have nothing against the term "*Kel Ulli*".

565 Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar.
[262] Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals, although they may
be rich in camels, attach much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter
[492] and cheese. The noble Tuareg use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations,
while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for
camels, but they are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women do not generally ride camels,
but donkeys, which are never ridden by noble women. Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are
culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinc-
[583] tions:— (1) In noble tribes bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal tribes it is one to three camels,
alternatively perhaps goats. Among vassals of Tasilé-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. (2) The
[233] noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas true vassals use earmarks for
donkeys, as they do for goats. However, in one vassal tribe, the *Dag Ṛali*, donkeys are marked in
[422] both ways. (3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by
the wife. (4) The noble Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post which is said to be
[342] peculiar to the tents used by noble Tuareg. (5) The bandoleer known as *tirẓemin*, or *ibeyderen*, perhaps
[293] connected with camel-riding, is said to have been used originally among noble Tuareg and not among
[262] vassals. (6) The noble Tuareg do not eat birds, eggs, fish, and reptiles, while vassal Tuareg will not
refuse food of this kind. It can be added that elements of an ancient hunting culture are found partic-
[224] ularly among vassals, who use the hunting spear with a wooden shaft, the spiked wheel-trap, and
[174] other ancient hunting methods. There are other distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, but
[233] the two originally distinct cultures have largely merged. Certain noble Tuareg to-day have large flocks
[462] of goats which, however, are tended exclusively by slave women. Apart from sewing, embroidering,

and the manufacture of decorated leather-bags, camel-reins, etc., and decorated wooden milk-bowls, 565
the noble women do extremely little work. 462

Among the *Kel Ajjer* we find some of the above-mentioned distinctions between noble Tuareg and 565
vassals. The traditional dwelling of many vassal Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer is the cylindrical hut (house) 342
with a conical roof, though vassals in winter use skin-tents during nomadic migrations. Nowadays noble and vassal Tuareg alike live in straw-huts throughout the hot season. Barth, in his description 565
of the *Kel Ajjer*, mentions that the vassals have no right to possess iron spears and swords (Barth 411
1857–58, I, p. 257), but it is stated explicitly by Duveyrier that noble Tuareg and vassals have the same weapons – the shield included (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). There can be little doubt that Duveyrier's statement is true, and I have been told among all Tuareg that in the past noble and vassal Tuareg did not differ in regard to weapons. A distinction would also seem rather strange in view of the fact that Tuareg of both classes fought together. Barth says that noble Tuareg and vassals differ in dress, but he does not give details (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257).

As to the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group, both noble and vassal Tuareg say that in the past 565
there were hardly any cultural distinctions between them. Bride-wealth in both classes was paid in camels. We know that the Ayr vassals in the past were predominantly goat-breeders, like many Ayr vassals to-day, and it seems as if camel-breeding was once a privilege of the nobility in the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 431; cf. tradition on the origin of the noble *Kel Ferwan*, p. 421). I have not been able to find differences between the two classes in regard to material culture and social organization. The noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group say that they never have had types of portable dwellings other than the barrel-vaulted mat tent, which traditionally belongs to the woman.

There is very little information about cultural distinctions between noble and vassal Tuareg in other groups. Among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* the vassals apparently use the arched mat tent more frequently than do noble Tuareg, but this and the skin tent supported by vertical sticks carrying cross-bars are found in both classes (cf. Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372 f.; Gabus 1945, p. 361 & 1948a, p. 15 & 1948b, p. 16). Among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* the mat tent is used by certain noble Tuareg (Nicolas 1950a, p. 156 f.). According to the chief *Ȧmdeṛ* women's riding saddles for camels (*akhawi*) among the *Kel Ataram* are found only in noble tribes. Vassal tribes of the *Kel Ataram* living close to [428]
the Niger even to-day practise matrilineal rules of inheritance and succession in contrast to noble tribes with rules of patrilineal succession and Ḳoranic inheritance (cf. p. 457).

Cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals are particularly prevalent in the two groups of Northern Tuareg, and it is significant that the traits characteristic of the noble class are also common among the *Ireġenaten* who live in Tamesna. This tribe is said to descend from mixed marriages between Tuareg women of the *Ibettenaṭen* tribe, which claims noble descent, and Arab men. This explanation is found in literature (cf. Lhote 1955, p. 238 f.; Briggs 1958, p. 100) and has been confirmed to me by Tuareg of this tribe. It is interesting that some traits characteristic of the noble tribes among the Northern Tuareg are also found in tribes of the *Iseḵḵemaren* class. The tribes of this latter class [171]
are said to be related to Arabs among whom we also find some of these traits.

We do not know when the noble Tuareg in the northern groups adopted traits that are also found 177
among Arab bedouins. One might perhaps venture the theory that some of them were introduced

of Africa, Sachs says that they occur mainly in Islamic West Asia from where they were recently in- 534
troduced to Europe and to India where terms for kettle-drums are derived from Arabic (Sachs 1923, 171
p. 58 ff.; 1929, p. 247). Wieschhoff admits that the kettle-drums seem to have been introduced into India with Islam, but he concludes that the distribution of them in the Sudan and in North-east Africa indicates that this element belongs to the so-called North Erytrean Culture (cf. Wieschhoff 1933, p. 40 ff., map 29e).

I do not want to advance any theory about the introduction of kettle-drums into Africa, but it 534
seems natural to consider the Tuareg drums known as *ettebel* as an Islamic trait. However we cannot 174
be sure that the use of drums as insignia of chiefs is post-Islamic, for, as we have seen, the drum as a royal insignia is pre-Islamic in many parts of Africa.

The theory that the drums used by Tuareg chiefs are Islamic seems to agree with the fact that the 643
custom of crowning chiefs among the Tuareg by means of a large turban or headcloth is no doubt 177
also an Arab practice. The use of a turban to crown or install kings and supreme chiefs is rare in Africa 171
south of the Sahara. The use of the turban for the kings of Dar Fur, Wadai, and Bornu is no doubt to be considered Islamic (cf. Schilde 1930, p. 68; Irstam 1944, p. 118), and there can also be little doubt that the use of a large turban at the installation of chiefs in Tibesti and Ennedi was originally introduced as a result of contact with the Arabs – particularly as this turban is known by the Arabic term *ḳadmul* (cf. Kronenberg 1958, p. 74 f.; Fuchs 1961, p. 52).

It is clear that Islam has greatly influenced Tuareg political organization. But we should also bear 174
in mind that North Africa in pre-Islamic times was influenced by various high cultures which are generally known as *Old Mediterranean* (*Syrtic*) and *Young Sudanese* (*North Erytrean*). It is very possible that the first noble Tuareg who penetrated into the Sahara with their camels came from a country situated towards the East or the North-east, and we have seen that the Ayr Tuareg have traditions about their origin in these quarters (cf. p. 412 ff.). It might therefore seem natural to assume that certain traits which are grouped under the vaguely-defined *Young Sudanese Culture* have been introduced into the Sahara with the immigration of the first noble Tuareg. Lhote thinks that the sandal type known as *takalmi* was perhaps introduced from Egypt with Tuareg immigrations from that country (Lhote 1950d, p. 531). We cannot know this, but it is possible that the oldest camel-breeding nomads introduced into the Sahara certain elements, of the so-called *Young Sudanese Culture*.

## TUAREG SLAVERY

It is very possible that the political system of the pastoral Tuareg has been greatly influenced by slavery 567
in the sense that slavery made the noble Tuareg less dependent on their vassals. Throughout the 19th 565
century slavery was important to fair-skinned pastoralists of all classes. In other respects it has had little effect on the changing political relations, for slaves do not constitute a class or a true caste; they are incorporated into Tuareg society on a kinship pattern.

Slavery is still extremely important in Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer where the French military 567
administration has done very little to abolish it. It is true that the slave-trade no longer exists, but 648

be a very strict avoidance relationship between them. However, the slave-mother has no right to 567
inherit (*tekachit*) the livestock left on the death of her Tuareg daughter, but a certain amount of stock 608
will be given her under the designation of *elhaḳḳ*. The Tuareg girl will not inherit her slave-mother,
nor will she have the right to a number of her animals.

The above examples indicate the main structural features of Tuareg slavery. Most important among
them is the position of slaves as children of their masters, though it should be stated that the rules of
behaviour between owner and slaves are not necessarily like those valid for parents and children. A 567
young slave owner will not be rough with his old slaves, but will generally behave very kindly towards
them, refraining from giving them orders in the way he would command his younger slaves. Age
distinctions play a great rôle in relationships between Tuareg and their slaves, and a description of
Tuareg slavery should not only outline its structure but also underline the fact that we cannot establish
very fixed rules for the relationship between Tuareg and slaves, as it varies very much with individuals.
Some slave-owners treat their very young slaves almost like their own children, while other slave-owners do not. Some Tuareg are constantly talking disparagingly about their slaves while outwardly
appearing to be very kind to them. There are many facets of Tuareg slavery.

The position of slaves as children of their owners causes slaves to belong not only to particular 567
families and family groups, but also to tribes and, in a certain sense, even to classes. I have often noticed 614
this in Ahaggar where tribes within the same class frequently have an attitude towards each other which is described by the Tuareg word *inmeñhaṛen*, that is "to have a feeling of envy or jealousy towards somebody". *Inmeñhaṛen* is rather an attitude of reserve and outward respect than a kind of avoidance. People of tribes or sub-tribes which have *inmeñhaṛen* relationships to one another will not visit each others' camps except on certain occasions when dressed in their best clothes, and they will then behave with the uttermost reservation and respect to each other. If two tribes have such a relationship to one another, it will normally also comprise their slaves, who will behave towards each other in the same fashion. If on the other hand two tribes have institutional joking with one another, as is the case with certain vassal tribes in relation to tribes of the *Iseḳḳemaren* class, there will also be joking between their slaves. There seems to be a strong tendency for the slaves to behave towards each other in a manner corresponding to that of their master.

In spite of the kinship pattern on which the relationships of Tuareg slaves and slave-owners is based, 567
it is most noteworthy that there is always latent joking between them, as there is between many different 571
classes and castes in Tuareg society. On certain occasions a Tuareg slave owner will joke freely even with his young or older slaves, though he will never joke with his children who have to show their father the outmost respect (cf. p. 454). Such a joking relationship is still more common between Tuareg and slaves who are not attached to one another by possession bonds. But it never exists between Tuareg and slaves who are not already known to each other.

The noble Tuareg may also joke with slaves but seem less inclined to do so than Tuareg of other 565
classes. Apart from that, the relationship between noble Tuareg and slaves does not deviate from the 567
description presented above. Noble Tuareg can marry slave women though they cannot easily marry 64
Tuareg women of the vassal class. This may seem rather strange, but is in fact not so unusual as it might seem. We have stated above (p. 429 f.) that the reason why noble Tuareg and vassals could not

565 easily intermarry was to be looked for in the structure of the political system based upon the division
567 of society into noble and vassal classes. A marriage between nobles and vassals would apparently tend
64 to break down the political structure, but this would not be the case with a marriage between a noble
Tuareg and a slave woman, for slaves are attached to the tribe of their masters as their "children"
and play no part in political structure. Furthermore, if a noble Tuareg marries a slave-girl belonging
to him, their children will also be able to adopt a noble status.

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